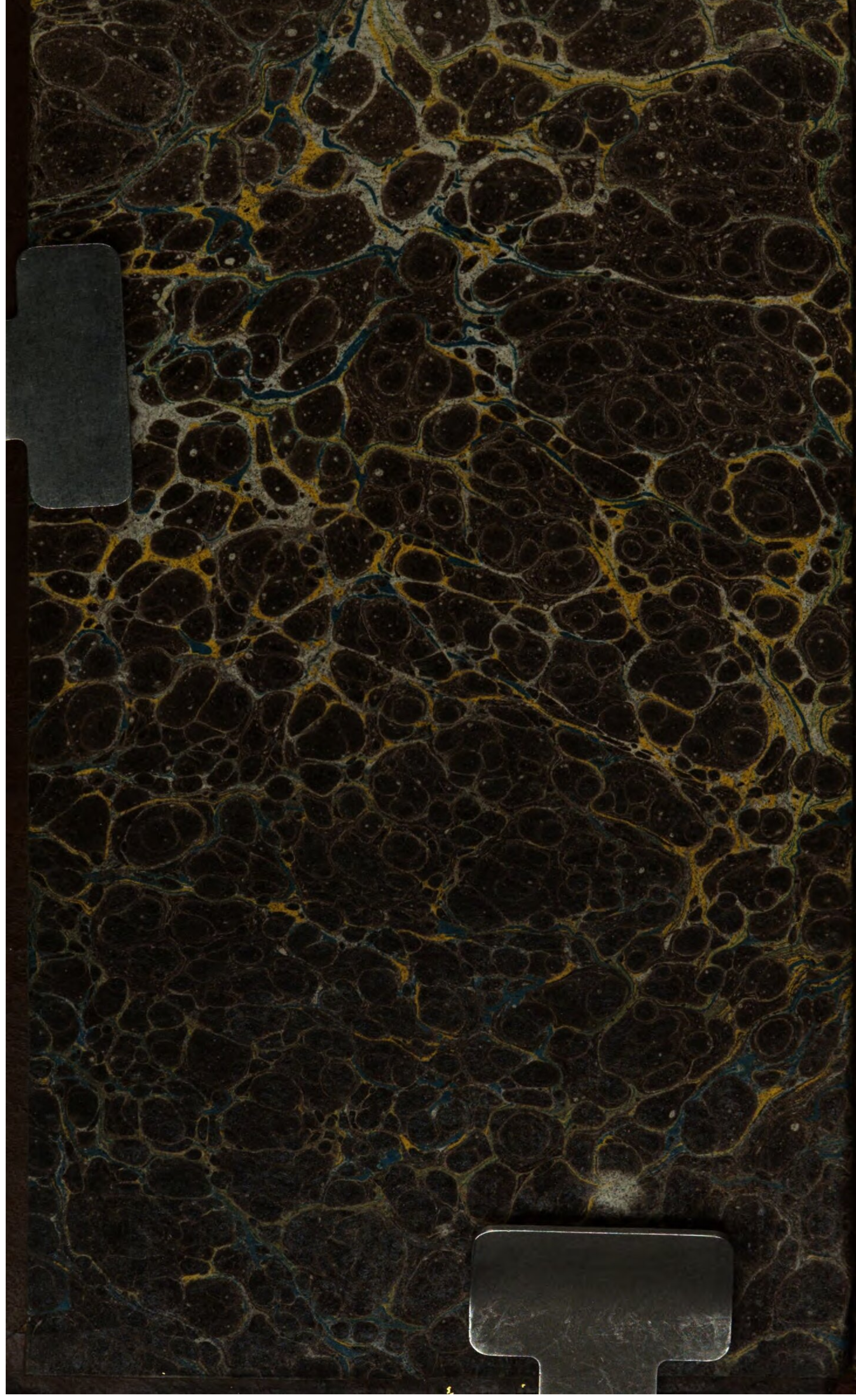
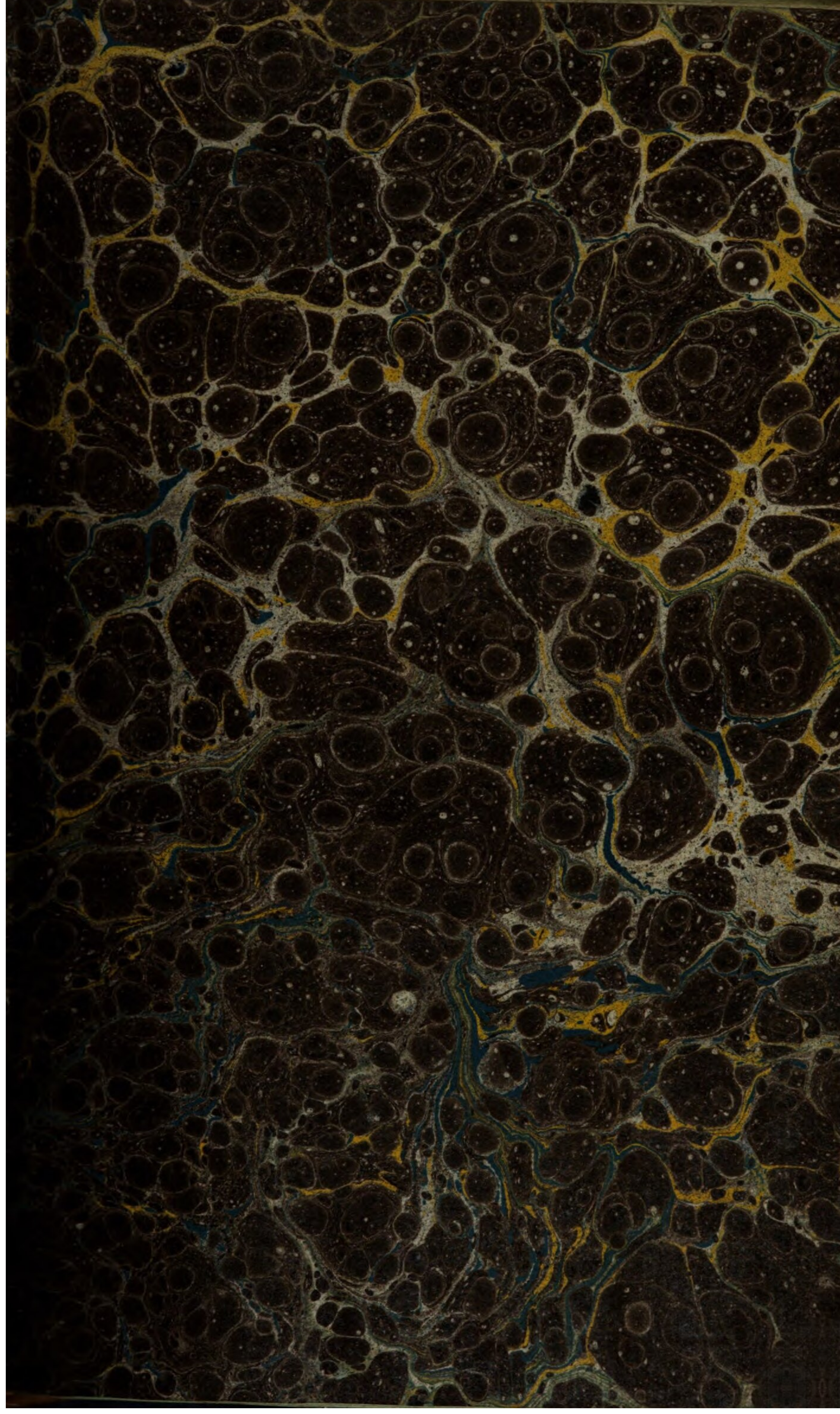






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THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

FROM
THE REVOLUTION
TO
THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

(Designed as a Continuation of Mr. Hume's History.)

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

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H I S T O R Y
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E N G L A N D,
FROM THE REVOLUTION
TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

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§ I. **T**HE French King was by this time reduced to such a state of humiliation by the losses of the last campaign, and a severe winter, which completed the

misery of his subjects, that he resolved to sacrifice all the considerations of pride and ambition, as well as the interest of his grandson, to his desire of peace, which was now become so necessary and indispensable. He dispatched the president Rouillé privately to Holland, with general proposals of peace, and the offer of a good barrier to the States General, still entertaining hopes of being able to detach them from the confederacy. This minister conferred in secret with Buys and Vanderdussen, the pensionaries of Amsterdam and Gouda, at Moerdyke, from whence he was permitted to proceed to Woerden, between Leyden and Utrecht. The States immediately communicated his proposals to the courts of Vienna and Great-Britain. Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough arrived at the Hague in April, and conferred with the grand pensionary Heinsius, Buys, and Vanderdussen, on the subject of the French proposals, which were deemed unsatisfactory. Rouillé immediately dispatched a courier to Paris, for further instructions; and the Duke of Marlborough returned to England, to make the Queen acquainted with the progress of the negociation. Louis, in order to convince the States of his sincerity, sent the Marquis de Torcy, his secretary for foreign affairs, to the Hague; with fresh offers, to which the deputies would make no answer until they knew the sentiments of the Queen of Great-Britain. The Duke of Marlborough crossed the seas a second time, accompanied by the Lord Viscount Townshend, as ambassador extraordinary, and joint-plenipotentiary: Prince Eugene being likewise at the Hague, the conferences were begun. The French

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minister declared that his master would consent to the demolition of Dunkirk : that he would abandon the Pretender, and dismiss him from his dominions : that he would acknowledge the Queen's title and the protestant succession : that he would renounce all pretensions to the Spanish monarchy, and cede the places in the Netherlands which the States General demanded for their barrier : that he would treat with the Emperor on the footing of the treaty concluded at Ryſwick, and even demolish the fortifications of Strasburgh. The ministers of the allies, rendered proud and wanton by success, and seeing their own private interest in the continuation of the war, insisted upon the restitution of the Upper and Lower Alsace to the empire : upon the French monarch's restoring Strasburgh in its present condition : upon his ceding the town and castellany of Lille, demolishing Dunkirk, New-Brisac, Fort-Louis, and Huningen. In a word, their demands were so insolent, that Louis would not have suffered them to be mentioned in his hearing, had not he been reduced to the last degree of distress. One can hardly read them without feeling a sentiment of compassion for that monarch, who had once given law to Europe, and been so long accustomed to victory and conquest. Notwithstanding the discouraging dispatches he had received from the president Rouillé, after his first conferences with the deputies, he could not believe that the Dutch would be so blind to their own interest, as to reject the advantages in commerce, and the barrier which he had offered. He could not conceive that they would chuse to bear the burden of excessive taxes in

profecuting a war, the events of which would always be uncertain, rather than enjoy the bleffings of peace, fecurity, and advantageous commerce: he flattered himfelf, that the allies would not fo far deviate from their purpofed aim of eftablifhing a balance of power, as to throw fuch an enormous weight into the fcale of the houfe of Austria, which cherifhed all the dangerous ambition and arbitrary principles, without the liberality and fentiment peculiar to the houfe of Bourbon. In proportion as they rofe in their demands, Louis fell in his condefcenfion. His fecretary of ftate, the Marquis de Torcy, pofted in difguife to Holland on the faith of a common blank paffport. He foli-cited, he foothed, he fupplicated, and made concessions in the name of his fovereign. He found the States were wholly guided by the influence of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough. He found thefe generals elated, haughty, overbearing, and implacable. He in private attacked the Duke of Marlborough on his weakeft fide: he offered to that nobleman a large fum of money, provided he would effect a peace on certain conditions. The propofal was rejected. The Duke found his enemies in England increafing, and his credit at court in the wane; and he knew that nothing but a continuation of the war, and new victories, could fupport his influence in England. Torcy was fenfible that his country was utterly exhausted: that Louis dreaded nothing fo much as the opening of the campaign; and he agreed to thofe articles upon which they infifted as preliminaries. The French King was confounded at the propofals: he felt the

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complicated pangs of grief, shame, and indignation. He rejected the preliminaries with disdain. He even deigned to submit his conduct to the judgment of his subjects. His offers were published, together with the demands of the allies. His people interested themselves in the glory of their monarch. They exclaimed against the cruelty and arrogance of his enemies. Though impoverished and half-starved by the war, they resolved to expend their whole substance in his support: and rather to fight his battles without pay, than leave him in the dire necessity of complying with such dishonorable terms. Animated by these sentiments, they made such efforts as amazed the whole world. The preliminaries being rejected by the French King, Rouillé was ordered to quit Holland in four-and-twenty hours; and the generals of the confederates resolved to open the campaign without further hesitation.

§ II. Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough proceeded to Flanders, and towards the end of June the allied army encamped in the plain of Lifle, to the number of one hundred and ten thousand fighting men. At the same time, the Marechal Villars, accounted the most fortunate general in France, assembled the French forces in the plain of Lens, where he began to throw up intrenchments. The confederate generals having observed his situation, and perceiving he could not be attacked with any probability of success, resolved to undertake the siege of Tournay, the garrison of which Villars had imprudently weakened. Accordingly, they made a feint upon Ypres, in order to deceive the enemy,

and convert all their attention to that side, while they suddenly invested Tournay on the twenty-seventh day of June. Though the garrison did not exceed twelve weakened battalions, and four squadrons of dragoons, the place was so strong, both by art and nature, and Lieutenant de Surville, the governor possessed such admirable talents, that the siege was protracted, contrary to the expectation of the allies, and cost them a great number of men, notwithstanding all the precautions that could be taken for the safety of the troops. As the besiegers proceeded by the method of sap, their miners frequently met with those of the enemy under ground, and fought with bayonet and pistol. The volunteers on both sides presented themselves to these subterraneous combats, in the midst of mines and countermines ready primed for explosion. Sometimes they were kindled by accident, and sometimes sprung by design; so that great numbers of those brave men were stifled below; and whole battalions blown into the air, or buried in the rubbish. On the twenty-eighth day of July, the besiegers having effected a practicable breach, and made the necessary dispositions for a general assault, the enemy offered to capitulate: the town was surrendered upon conditions; and the garrison retired to the citadel. Surville likewise entered into a treaty about giving up the citadel: the articles being sent to the court of Versailles, Louis would not ratify them, except upon condition that there should be a general cessation in the Netherlands till the fifth day of September. Hostilities were renewed on the eighth day of August, and prosecuted

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with uncommon ardor and animosity. On the thirtieth Surville desired to capitulate on certain articles, which were rejected by the Duke of Marlborough, who gave him to understand that he had no terms to expect, but must surrender at discretion. At length, his provision being quite exhausted, he was obliged to surrender himself and his garrison prisoners of war, though they were permitted to return to France, on giving their parole that they would not act in the field until a like number of the allies should be released.

§ III. The next object that attracted the eyes of the confederates was the city of Mons, which they resolved to besiege with all possible expedition. They passed the Schelde on the third day of September, and detached the Prince of Hesse to attack the French lines from the Haifne to the Sombre which were abandoned at his approach. On the seventh day of September. Marechal de Boufflers arrived in the French camp at Quievrain, content to act in an inferior capacity to Villars, although his superior in point of seniority. The Duke of Marlborough having received advice that the French were on their march to attack the advanced body under the Prince of Hesse, decamped from Havre, in order to support that detachment. On the ninth the allies made a motion to the left, by which the two armies were brought so near each other, that a mutual cannonading ensued. The French army, amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand men, were posted behind the woods of La Merte and Tanieres, in the neighbourhood

of Malplaquet. The confederates, nearly of the same number, encamped with the right near Sart and Bleron, and the left on the edge of the wood of Lagniere; the head-quarters being at Blaregnies. The enemy, instead of attacking the allies, began to fortify their camp, which was naturally strong, with triple intrenchments. In a word, they were so covered with lines, hedges, intrenchments, cannon, and trees laid across, that they seemed to be quite inaccessible. Had the confederates attacked them on the ninth, the battle would not have been so bloody, and the victory would have proved more decisive; for they had not then begun to secure the camp: but Marlborough postponed the engagement until they should be re-enforced by eighteen battalions which had been employed in the siege of Tournay; and, in the mean time, the French fortified themselves with incredible diligence and dispatch. On the eleventh day of September, early in the morning, the confederates, favored by a thick fog, erected batteries on each wing, and in the centre; and about eight o'clock, the weather clearing up, the attack began. Eighty-six battalions on the right, commanded by General Schuylenburgh, the Duke of Argyle, and other generals, and supported by two-and-twenty battalions under Count Lottum, attacked the left of the enemy with such vigor, that, notwithstanding their lines and barricadoes, they were in less than an hour driven from their intrenchments, into the woods of Sart and Tanieres. The Prince of Orange and Baron Fagel, with six-and-thirty Dutch battalions, advanced against the right

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of the enemy, posted in the wood of La Merte, and covered with three intrenchments. Here the battle was maintained with the most desperate courage on both sides. The Dutch obliged the French to quit the first intrenchment; but were repulsed from the second with great slaughter. The Prince of Orange persisted in his efforts with incredible perseverance and intrepidity, even after two horses had been killed under him, and the greater part of his officers either slain or disabled. The French fought with an obstinacy of courage that bordered on despair, till seeing their lines forced, their left wing and centre giving way, and their general, Villars, dangerously wounded, they made an excellent retreat towards Bavay, under the conduct of Boufflers, and took post between Quesnoy and Valenciennes. The field of battle they abandoned to the confederates, with about forty colors and standards, sixteen pieces of artillery, and good number of prisoners: but this was the dearest victory the allies had ever purchased. About twenty thousand of their best troops were killed in the engagement; whereas the enemy did not lose half the number, and retired at leisure, perfectly recovered of that apprehension with which they had been for some years inspired and overawed by the successes of their adversaries. On the side of the allies, Count Lottum, General Tettau, Count Oxenstiern, and the Marquis of Tullibardine were killed, with many other officers of distinction. Prince Eugene was slightly wounded on the head: Lieutenant-General Webb received a shot in the groin. The Duke of Argyle, who distinguished himself by extraordinary feats of valor, escaped

unhurt; but several musket-balls penetrated through his clothes, hat, and periwig. In the French army, the Chevalier de St. George charged twelve times with the household-troops, and in the last was wounded with a sword in the arm. The Marechal de Villars confidently asserted, that if he himself had not been disabled, the confederates would certainly have been defeated.

§ IV. Considering the situation of the French, the number of their troops, and the manner in which they were fortified, nothing could be more rash and imprudent than the attack, which cost the lives of so many gallant men, and was attended with so little advantage to the conquerors. Perhaps the Duke of Marlborough thought a victory was absolutely necessary to support his sinking interest at the court of Great-Britain. His intention was to have given battle before the enemy had intrenched themselves; but Prince Eugene insisted upon delaying the action until the re-enforcement should arrive from Tournay. The extraordinary carnage is imputed to the impetuosity of the Prince of Orange, whose aim, through this whole war, was to raise himself into consideration with the States-General, by signal acts of military prowess. The French having retired to Valenciennes, the allies were left at liberty to besiege Mons, which capitulated about the end of October; and both armies were distributed in winter-quarters. The campaign on the Rhine produced nothing but one sharp action, between a detachment of the French army commanded by the Count de Borgh, and a body of troops under Count Mercy, who had passed

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the Rhine, in order to penetrate into Franche-Comté, The Imperial officer was worsted in this encounter, with the loss of two thousand men; obliged to repass the river and retired to Friburgh. In Piedmont, Felt-Mareschal Thaun commanded the confederates, in the room of the Duke of Savoy, who refused to take the field until some differences, which had arisen between the Emperor and him, should be adjusted. Thaun's design was to besiege Briançon; but the Duke of Berwick had taken such precautions as frustrated his intention, though part of the troops under the French general were employed in suppressing an insurrection of the Camisars, and other malecontents in the Vivarez. These were entirely defeated in a pitched battle; and Abraham, one of their leaders, being taken, was broke alive upon the wheel: three-and-twenty were hanged, and the other prisoners sent to the gallies. The Pope delayed acknowledging King Charles, under various pretences, in hope that the campaign would prove favorable to the House of Bourbon: till at length the Emperor giving him to understand that his army should take up their winter-quarters in the ecclesiastical state, his holiness solemnly owned Charles King of Spain, Naples, and Sicily.

§ V. The military operations in Spain and Portugal were unfavorable to the allies. On the seventh of May, the Portuguese and English were defeated at Caya, by the Spaniards, under the command of the Mareschal de Bay. The castle of Alicant, guarded by two English regiments had been besieged and held out during the whole winter. At length the

Chevalier d'Asfeldt ordered the rock to be undermined, and having lodged two hundred barrels of gunpowder, gave Syburg, the governor, to understand, that two of his officers might come out and see the condition of the works. This offer being accepted, Asfeldt in person accompanied them to the mine: he told them he could not bear the thought of seeing so many brave men perish in the ruins of a place they had so gallantly defended; and allowed them four-and-twenty hours to consider on the resolution they should take. Syburg continued deaf to his remonstrances; and, with an obstinacy that favoured more of stupidity than of valor, determined to stand the explosion. When the sentinels that were posted on the side of the hill gave notice, by a preconcerted signal, that fire was set to the mine, the governor ordered the guard to retire, and walked out to the parade, accompanied by several officers. The mine being sprung, the rock opened under their feet, and they falling into the chasm, it instantly closed, and crushed them to death. Notwithstanding this dreadful incident, Colonel d'Albon, who succeeded to the command, resolved to defend the place to the last extremity. Sir Edward Whitaker failed from Barcelona to the relief of the place; but the enemy had erected such works as effectually hindered the troops from landing. Then General Stanhope, who commanded them, capitulated with the Spanish general for the garrison, which marched out with all the honors of war, and was transported to Minorca; where the men were put into quarters of refreshment. On the frontiers of Catalonia,

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General Staremborg maintained his ground, and even annoyed the enemy. He passed the Segra, and reduced Balaguer: having left a strong garrison in the place, he repassed the river, and sent his forces into winter-quarters. The most remarkable event of this summer was the battle of Pultawa, in which the King of Sweden was entirely defeated by the Czar of Muscovy, and obliged to take refuge at Bender, a town of Moldavia, in the Turkish dominions. Augustus immediately marched into Poland against Stanislaus, and renounced his own resignation, as if it had been the effect of compulsion. He formed a project with the Kings of Denmark and Prussia, to attack the Swedish territories in three different places: but the Emperor and maritime powers prevented the execution of this scheme, by entering into a guaranty for preserving the peace of the empire. Nevertheless, the King of Denmark declared war against Sweden, and transported an army over the Sound to Schonen: but they were attacked and defeated by the Swedes, and obliged to re-embark with the utmost precipitation. The war still continued to rage in Hungary, where, however, the revolvers were routed in many petty engagements.

§ VI. Though the events of the summer had been less unfavorable to France than Louis had reason to expect, he saw that peace was as necessary as ever to his kingdom; but he thought he might now treat with some freedom and dignity. His minister, Torcy, maintained a correspondence with Mr. Petkum resident of the Duke of Holstein

at the Hague: he proposed to this minister, that the negociation should be renewed; and demanded passes, by virtue of which the French plenipotentiaries might repair in safety to Holland. In the mean time, the French King withdrew his troops from Spain, on pretence of demonstrating his readiness to oblige the allies in that particular: though this measure was the effect of necessity, which obliged him to recal those troops for the defence of his own dominions. The States-General refused to grant passes to the French ministers; but they allowed Petkum to make a journey to Versailles. In the interim King Philip published a manifesto, protesting against all that should be transacted at the Hague to his prejudice. Far from yielding Spain and the Indies to his competitor, he declared his intention of driving Charles from those places that were now in his possession. He named the Duke of Alba, and Count Bergheyck for his plenipotentiaries, and ordered them to notify their credentials to the maritime powers: but no regard was paid to their intimation. Philip tampered likewise with the Duke of Marlborough; and the Marquis de Torcy renewed his attempts upon that general; but all his application and address proved ineffectual. Petkum brought back from Versailles a kind of memorial, importing, That those motives which influenced the French, before the campaign was opened, no longer subsisted: That the winter-season naturally produced a cessation of arms, during which he would treat of a general and reasonable peace, without restricting himself to the form of the

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preliminaries which the allies had pretended to impose : That , nevertheless , he would still treat on the foundation of those conditions to which he had consented , and send plenipotentiaries to begin the conferences with those of the allies , on the first day of January. The States-General inveighed against this memorial , as a proof of the French King's insincerity ; though he certainly had a right to retract those offers they had formerly rejected. They came to a resolution , that it was absolutely necessary to prosecute the war with vigor ; and they wrote pressing letters on the subject to their allies.

§ VII. The parliament of Great-Britain being assembled on the fifteenth day of November , the Queen , in her speech , told both Houses , That the enemy had endeavoured , by false appearances , and deceitful insinuations of a desire after peace , to create jealousies among the allies : That God Almighty had been pleased to bless the arms of the confederates with a most remarkable victory , and other successes , which had laid France open to the impression of the allied arms , and consequently rendered peace more necessary to that kingdom than it was at the beginning of the campaign. She insisted upon the expediency of prosecuting the advantages she had gained ; by reducing that exorbitant and oppressive power which had so long threatened the liberties of Europe. The parliament were as eager and compliant as ever. They presented congratulatory addresses : they thanked the Duke of Marlborough for his signal services ; while great part of the nation reproached him with having wantonly

wantonly sacrificed so many thousand lives to his own private interest and reputation. In less than a month, the Commons granted upwards of six millions for the service of the ensuing year; and established a lottery, with other funds, to answer this enormous supply. On the thirteenth day of December, Mr. Dolben, son to the late Archbishop of York, complained to the House, of two sermons preached and published by Dr. Henry Sacheverel, rector of St. Saviour's in Southwark, as containing positions contrary to Revolution-principles, to the present government, and the protestant succession. Sacheverel was a clergyman of narrow intellects, and an over-heated imagination. He had acquired some popularity among those who distinguished themselves by the name of High-churchmen; and took all occasions to vent his animosity against the dissenters. At the summer-assizes at Derby, he had held forth in that strain before the judges; on the fifth day of November, in St. Paul's church, he, in a violent declamation, defended the doctrine of non-resistance; inveighed against the toleration and dissenters; declared the church was dangerously attacked by her enemies; and slightly defended by her false friends: he sounded the trumpet for the church, and exhorted the people to put on the whole armour of God. Sir Samuel Garrard, the lord-mayor, countenanced this harangue, which was published under his protection, extolled by the Tories, and circulated all over the nation. The complaint of Mr. Dolben against Sacheverel was seconded in the House of Commons

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by Sir Peter King, and other members. The most violent paragraphs were read: the sermons were voted scandalous and seditious libels. Sacheverel, being brought to the bar of the House, acknowledged himself the author of both, and mentioned the encouragement he had received from the lord-mayor to print that which was entitled, "The perils of false brethren." Sir Samuel, who was a member, denied he had ever given him such encouragement. The doctor being ordered to withdraw, the House resolved he should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours; and Mr. Dolben was ordered to impeach him at the bar of the House of Lords, in the name of all the Commons of England. A committee was appointed to draw up articles, and Sacheverel was taken into custody. At the same time, in order to demonstrate their own principles, they resolved, That the Reverend Mr. Benjamin Hoadley, rector of St. Peter's-Poor, for having often justified the principles on which her Majesty and the nation proceeded in the late happy revolution, had justly merited the favor and recommendation of the House; and they presented an address to the Queen, beseeching her to bestow some dignity in the church on Mr. Hoadley, for his eminent services both to the church and state. The Queen returned a civil answer, though she paid no regard to their recommendation. Hoadley was a clergyman of sound understanding, unblemished character, and uncommon moderation, who, in a sermon preached before the Lord-Mayor of London, had demonstrated the lawfulness of resisting

wicked and cruel governors; and vindicated the late revolution. By avowing such doctrines, he incurred the resentment of the high-churchmen, who accused him of having preached up rebellion. Many books were written against the maxims he professed. These he answered; and, in the course of the controversy, acquitted himself with superior temper, judgment, and solidity of argument. He, as well as Bishop Burnet, and several other prelates, had been treated with great virulence in Sacheverel's sermon; and the Lord-Treasurer was scurrilously abused under the name of Volpone.

§ VIII. The doctor being impeached at the bar of the Upper-House, petitioned that he might be admitted to bail; but this indulgence was refused, and the Commons seemed bent upon prosecuting him with such severity as gave disgust to men of moderate principles. Mean while the Tories were not idle. They boldly affirmed that the Whigs had formed a design to pull down the church; and that this prosecution was intended to try their strength, before they would proceed openly to the execution of their project. These assertions were supported, and even credited by great part of the clergy, who did not fail to alarm and inflame their hearers; while emissaries were employed to raise a ferment among the populace, already prepared with discontent, arising from a scarcity which prevailed in almost every country of Europe. The ministers magnified the dangers to which the church was exposed, from dissenters, Whigs, and lukewarm prelates. These they represented as the authors of a ruinous

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war, which in a little time would produce universal famine; and as the immediate encouragers of those Palatine refugees who had been brought over to the number of six thousand, and maintained by voluntary contributions until they could be conveniently transported into Ireland, and the plantations in America. The charity bestowed upon those unhappy strangers exasperated the poor of England, who felt severely the effects of the dearth, and helped to fill up the measure of popular discontent. The articles against Dr. Sacheverel being exhibited, his person was committed to the deputy-usher of the black-rod; but, afterwards, the Lords admitted him to bail. Then he drew up an answer to the charge, in which he denied some articles, and others he endeavoured to justify or extenuate. The Commons having sent up a replication, declaring they were ready to prove the charge, the Lords appointed the twenty-seventh day of February for the trial, in Westminster-hall.

§ IX. The eyes of the whole kingdom were turned upon this extraordinary trial. It lasted three weeks, during which all other business was suspended; and the Queen herself was every day present, though in quality of a private spectator. The managers for the Commons were Sir Joseph Jekyl, Mr. Eyre, Solicitor-General, Sir Peter King, recorder of the city of London, Lieutenant-General Stanhope, Sir Thomas Parker, and Mr. Robert Walpole, Treasurer of the navy. The doctor was defended by Sir Simon Harcourt and Mr. Phipps, and assisted by Dr. Atterbury, Dr. Smallridge and

Dr. Friend. A vast multitude attended him every day to and from Westminster-hall, striving to kiss his hand, and praying for his deliverance, as if he had been a martyr and confessor. The Queen's sedan was beset by the populace, exclaiming, "God bless your Majesty and the church. We hope your Majesty is for Dr. Sacheverel." They compelled all persons to lift their hats to the doctor, as he passed in his coach to the Temple, where he lodged; and among these some members of parliament, who were abused and insulted. They destroyed several meeting-houses; plundered the dwelling-houses of eminent dissenters; and threatened to pull down those of the Lord-Chancellor, the Earl of Wharton, and the Bishop of Sarum. They even proposed to attack the Bank; so that the directors were obliged to send to Whitehall for assistance. The horse and foot-guards were immediately sent to disperse the rioters, who fled at their approach. Next day the guards were doubled at Whitehall, and the trained bands of Westminster continued in arms during the whole trial. The Commons entreated the Queen, in an address, to take effectual measures for suppressing the present tumults, set on foot and fomented by papists, nonjurors, and other enemies to her title and government. She expressed a deep sense of their care and concern, as well as a just resentment at these tumultuous and violent proceedings. She published a proclamation for suppressing the tumults; and several persons being apprehended, were afterwards tried for high-treason. Two of them were convicted, and

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sentenced to die; but neither suffered. The Commons presented another address of thanks to her Majesty, for her gracious answer to their first remonstrance. They took this occasion to declare, that the prosecution of the Commons against Dr. Henry Sacheverel proceeded only from the indispensable obligation they lay under to vindicate the late happy revolution, the glory of their royal deliverer, her own title and administration, the present establishment and protestant succession, together with the toleration and the quiet of the government. When the doctor's counsel had finished his defence, he himself recited a speech, wherein he solemnly justified his intentions towards the Queen and her government; and spoke in the most respectful terms of the Revolution, and the protestant succession. He maintained the doctrine of non-resistance in all cases whatsoever, as a maxim of the church in which he was educated; and by many pathetical expressions endeavoured to excite the compassion of the audience. He was surrounded by the Queen's chaplains, who encouraged and extolled him as the champion of the church; and he was privately favored by the Queen herself, who could not but relish a doctrine so well calculated for the support of regal authority.

§ X. On the tenth day of March, the Lords being adjourned to their own house, the Earl of Nottingham proposed the following question, "Whether, " in prosecutions by impeachments for high crimes " and misdemeanours, by writing or speaking, " the particular words supposed to be criminal are

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“ necessary to be expressly specified in such impeachments? ” The judges being consulted, were unanimously of opinion, that, according to law, the grounds of an indictment or impeachment ought to be expressly mentioned in both. One of the lords having suggested, that the judges had delivered their opinions according to the rules of Westminster-hall, and not according to the usage of parliament, the House resolved, that in impeachments they should proceed according to the laws of the land, and the law and usage of parliaments. On the sixteenth day of the month, the Queen being in the House incognito, they proceeded to consider whether or not the Commons had made good the articles exhibited against Dr. Sacheverel. The Earl of Wharton observed, that the doctor’s speech was a full confutation and condemnation of his sermon: that all he had advanced about non-resistance and unlimited obedience was false and ridiculous: that the doctrine of passive obedience, as urged by the doctor, was not reconcileable to the practice of churchmen: that if the Revolution was not lawful, many in that House, and vast numbers without, were guilty of blood, murder, rapine, and injustice; and that the Queen herself was no lawful sovereign, since the best title she had to the crown, was her parliamentary title, founded upon the Revolution. He was answered by the Lord Haversham in a long speech. Lord Ferrers said, if the doctor was guilty of some foolish unguarded expressions, he ought to have been tried at common law. The Earl of Scarborough observed, the Revolution was a nice point, and

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above the law: he moved that they should adjourn the debate, and take time to consider before they gave judgment. Doctor Hooper, Bishop of Bath and Wells, allowed the necessity and legality of resistance in some extraordinary cases; but was of opinion, that this maxim ought to be concealed from the knowledge of the people, who are naturally too apt to resist: that the Revolution was not to be boasted of, nor made a precedent: but that a mantle ought to be thrown over it, and it should be called a vacancy or abdication. He said the original compact were dangerous words, not to be mentioned without great caution: that those who examined the Revolution too nicely were no friends to it; and that there seemed to be a necessity for preaching up non-resistance and passive obedience at that time, when resistance was justified. The Duke of Argyle affirmed, that the clergy in all ages had delivered up the rights and privileges of the people, preaching up the King's power, in order to govern him the more easily; and, therefore, they ought not to be suffered to meddle with politics. The Earl of Anglesey owned the doctor had preached nonsense; but said that was no crime. The Duke of Leeds distinguished between resistance and revolution; for, had not the last succeeded, it would have certainly been rebellion, since he knew of no other but hereditary right. The Bishop of Salisbury justified resistance from the book of Maccabees: he mentioned the conduct of Queen Elizabeth, who assisted the Scots, the French, and the States-General, in resisting their

different sovereigns, and was supported in this practice both by her parliaments and her convocations. He observed that King Charles I. had assisted the citizens of Rochelle in their rebellion: that Manwaring incurred a severe censure from the parliament, for having broached the doctrine of the divine right of kings; and that though this became a favorite maxim after the restoration, yet its warmest asserters were the first who pleaded for resistance when they thought themselves oppressed. The Archbishop of York, the Duke of Buckingham, and other leaders of the Tory-interest, declared that they never read such a piece of madness and nonsense as Sacheverel's sermon; but they did not think him guilty of a misdemeanour. Next day, Dr. Wake, Bishop of Lincoln, accused Sacheverel of having made a strange and false representation of the design for a comprehension, which had been set on foot by Archbishop Sancroft, and promoted by the most eminent divines of the church of England. He was of opinion that some step should be taken for putting a stop to such preaching, as, if not timely corrected, might kindle heats and animosities that would endanger both church and state. Dr. Trimnel, Bishop of Norwich, expatiated upon the insolence of Sacheverel, who had arraigned Archbishop Grindal, one of the eminent reformers, as a perfidious prelate, for having favored and tolerated the discipline of Geneva. He enlarged upon the good effects of the toleration. He took notice of Sacheverel's presumption in publishing inflammatory prayers, declaring himself under persecution, while he was prosecuted

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for offending against the law, by those who in common justice ought to be thought the fairest accusers, and before their lordships, who were justly acknowledged to be the most impartial judges. In discussing the fourth article, the Bishop of Salisbury spoke with great vehemence against Sacheverel, who, by inveighing against the Revolution, toleration, and union, seemed to arraign and attack the Queen herself; since her Majesty had so great a share in the first; had often declared she would maintain the second; and that she looked upon the third as the most glorious event of her reign. He affirmed that nothing could be more plain than the doctor's reflecting upon her Majesty's ministers; and that he had so well marked out a noble peer there present, by an ugly and scurrilous epithet which he would not repeat, that it was not possible to mistake his meaning. Some of the younger peers could not help laughing at this undesigned sarcasm upon the Lord - Treasurer, whom Sacheverel had reviled under the name of Volpone: they exclaimed, "Name him, name him;" and, in all probability, the zealous bishop, who was remarkable for absence of mind and unguarded expressions, would have gratified their request, had not the Chancellor, interposing, declared that no peer was obliged to say more than he should think proper.

§ XI. After obstinate disputes, and much virulent altercation, Sacheverel was found guilty by a majority of seventeen voices; and four - and - thirty peers entered a protest against this decision. He was prohibited from preaching for the term of three years:

his two sermons were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, in presence of the Lord - Mayor and the two sheriffs of London and Middlesex. The Lords likewise voted that the executioner should commit to the same fire the famous decree passed in the convocation of the university of Oxford, asserting the absolute authority and indefeasible right of princes. A like sentence was denounced by the Commons upon a book entitled, "Collections of Passages referred to by Dr. Sacheverel, in his Answer to the Articles of Impeachment." These he had selected from impious books lately published, and they were read by his counsel, as proofs that the church was in danger. The lenity of the sentence passed upon Sacheverel, which was in a great measure owing to the dread of popular resentment, his friends considered as a victory obtained over a Whig-faction, and they celebrated their triumph with bonfires and illuminations. On the fifth day of April, the Queen ordered the parliament to be prorogued, after having, in her speech to both Houses, expressed her concern for the necessary occasion which had taken up great part of their time towards the latter end of the session¹. She declared that no prince could have a more true and tender concern for the welfare and prosperity of the church than she had, and should always have; and she said it was very injurious to take a pretence from wicked and malicious libels, to insinuate that the church was in danger by her administration.

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¹ Burnet. Hare. Torcy. Feuquieres. Hist. of the D. of Marlborough. Tinddal. Voltaire.

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§. XII. The French King, seeing the misery of his people daily increase, and all his resources fail, humbled himself again before the allies, and by the means of Petkum, who still corresponded with his ministers, implored the States-General, that the negociation might be resumed. In order to facilitate their consent, he dispatched a new project of pacification, in which he promised to renounce his grandson, and to comply with all their other demands, provided the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria should be re-established in their estates and dignities. These overtures being rejected, another plan was offered, and communicated to the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor and Queen of Great-Britain. Then Petkum wrote a letter to the Marquis de Torcy, intimating, that the allies required his most Christian Majesty should declare, in plain and expressive terms, that he consented to all the preliminaries, except the thirty-seventh article, which stipulated a cessation of arms, in case the Spanish monarchy should be delivered to King Charles in the space of two months. He said, the allies would send passports to the French ministers, to treat of an equivalent for that article. Louis was even forced to swallow this bitter draught. He signified his consent, and appointed the Mareschal d'Uxelles and the Abbé Polignac his plenipotentiaries. They were not suffered, however, to enter Holland, but were met by the Deputies Buys and Vanderdussen at Gertruydenberg. Mean while, the States desired the Queen of England to send over the Duke of Marlborough, to assist them with his advice in these conferences,

The two Houses of parliament seconded their request in a joint address to her Majesty, who told them she had already given directions for his departure; and said she was glad to find they concurred with her in a just sense of the Duke's eminent services. Both the letter and the address were procured by the interest of Marlborough, to let the Queen see how much that nobleman was considered both at home and abroad. But she was already wholly alienated from him in her heart, and these expedients served only to increase her disgust.

§ XIII. The French ministers were subjected to every species of mortification. They were in a manner confined to a small fortified town, and all their conduct narrowly watched. Their accommodation was mean: their letters were opened; and they were daily insulted by injurious libels. The Dutch deputies would hear of no relaxation, and no expedient for removing the difficulties that retarded the negociation. In vain the plenipotentiaries declared, that the French King could not with decency, or the least regard to his honor, wage war against his own grandson: the deputies insisted upon his effecting the cession of Spain and the Indies to the House of Austria; and submitting to every other article specified in the preliminaries. Nay, they even reserved to themselves a power of making ulterior demands after the preliminaries should be adjusted. Louis proposed that some small provision should be made for the Duke of Anjou, which might induce him to relinquish Spain the more easily. He mentioned the kingdom of Arragon; and this hint being disagreeable

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to the allies, he demanded Naples and Sicily. When they urged that Naples was already in possession of the house of Austria, he restricted the provision to Sicily and Sardinia. He offered to deliver up four cautionary towns in Flanders, as a security for Philip's evacuating Spain; and even promised to supply the confederates with a monthly sum of money, to defray the expense of expelling that prince from his dominions, should he refuse to resign them with a good grace. The substance of all the conferences was communicated to Lord Townshend, and Count Zinzendorf, the Imperial plenipotentiary; but the conduct of the deputies was regulated by the Pensionary Heinsius, who was firmly attached to Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, more averse than ever to a pacification. The negotiation lasted from the nineteenth day of March to the twenty-fifth of July, during which term the conferences were several times interrupted, and a great many dispatches and new proposals arrived from Versailles. At length, the plenipotentiaries returned to France, after having sent a letter to the Pensionary, in which they declared, that the proposals made by the deputies were unjust and impracticable; and complained of the unworthy treatment to which they had been exposed. Louis resolved to hazard another campaign, not without hope, that there might be some lucky incident in the events of war, and that the approaching revolution in the English ministry, of which he was well apprized, would be productive of a more reasonable pacification. The States-General resolved, That the enemy had

departed from the foundation on which the negotiation had begun, and studied pretences to evade the execution of the capital points, the restitution of Spain and the Indies; and, in short, that France had no other view than to sow and create jealousy and disunion among the allies. Lord Townshend, in a memorial, assured them, that the Queen entirely approved their resolution, and all the steps they had taken in the course of the negociation; and that she was firmly resolved to prosecute the war with all possible vigor, until the enemy should accept such terms of peace as might secure the tranquillity of the Christian world.

§ XIV. The conferences did not retard the operations of the campaign. Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough set out from the Hague on the fifteenth day of March for Tournay, in order to assemble the forces which were quartered on the Maese, in Flanders, and Brabant. On the twentieth of April, they suddenly advanced to Pont-a-Vendin, in order to attack the lines upon which the French had been at work all the winter, hoping by these to cover Douay and other frontier-towns, which were threatened by the confederates. The troops left for the defence of the lines retired without opposition. The allies having laid bridges over the Scarpe, the Duke of Marlborough with his division passed that river, and encamped at Vitri. Prince Eugene remained on the other side, and invested Douay, the enemy retiring towards Cambray. Mareschal Villars still commanded the French army, which was extremely numerous and

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well appointed, considering the distress of that kingdom. Indeed, the number was augmented by this distress; for many thousands saved themselves from dying of hunger, by carrying arms in the service. The Marechal having assembled all his forces, passed the Schelde and encamped at Bou-cham, declaring that he would give battle to the confederates: an alteration was immediately made in the disposition of the allies, and proper precautions taken for his reception. He advanced in order of battle; but having viewed the situation of the confederates, he marched back to the heights of St. Laurence, where he fixed his camp. His aim was by continual alarms to interrupt the siege of Douay, which was vigorously defended by a numerous garrison, under the command of Monsieur Albergotti, who made a number of successful sallies, in which the besiegers lost a great number of men. They were likewise repulsed in several assaults: but still proceeded with unremitting vigor, until the besieged being reduced to the last extremity, were obliged to capitulate on the twenty-sixth of June, fifty days after the trenches had been opened. The generals finding it impracticable to attack the enemy, who were posted within strong lines from Arras towards Miramont, resolved to besiege Bethune, which was invested on the fifteenth day of July, and surrendered on the twenty-ninth of August. Villars marched out of his intrenchments with a view to raise the siege but he did not think proper to hazard an engagement:
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some warm skirmishes, however, happened between the foragers of the two armies. After the reduction of Bethune, the allies besieged at one time the towns of Aire and St. Venant, which were taken without much difficulty. Then the armies broke up, and marched into winter-quarters.

§ XV. The campaign on the Rhine was productive of no military event: nor was any thing of consequence transacted in Piedmont. The Duke of Savoy being indisposed and out of humor, the command of the forces still continued vested in Count Thaun, who endeavoured to pass the Alps, and penetrate into Dauphiné: but the Duke of Berwick had cast up intrenchments in the mountains, and taken such precautions to guard them, as baffled all the attempts of the Imperial general. Spain was much more fruitful of military incidents. The horse and dragoons in the army of King Charles, headed by General Stanhope, attacked the whole cavalry of the enemy at Almenara. Stanhope charged in person, and with his own hand slew General Amefaga, who commanded the guards of Philip. The Spanish horse were entirely routed, together with nine battalions that escaped by favor of the darkness; and the main body of the army retired with precipitation to Lerida. General Staremberg pursued them to Saragossa, where he found them drawn up in order of battle; and an engagement ensuing on the ninth day of August, the enemy were totally defeated: five thousand of their men were killed, seven thousand taken, together with all their artillery, and a great number of colors and standards.

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King Charles entered Saragossa in triumph, while Philip with the wreck of his army retreated to Madrid. Having sent his Queen and son to Victoria, he retired to Valladolid, in order to collect his scattered troops, so as to form another army. The good fortune of Charles was of short duration. Stanhope proposed that he should immediately secure Pampeluna, the only pass by which the French King could send troops to Spain: but this salutary scheme was rejected. King Charles proceeded to Madrid, which was deserted by all the grandees; and he had the mortification to see that the Castilians were universally attached to his competitor.

§ XVI. While his forces continued cantoned in the neighbourhood of Toledo, the King of France, at the request of Philip, sent the Duke de Vendome to take the command of the Spanish army, which was at the same time re-enforced by detachments of French troops. Vendome's reputation was so high, and his person so beloved by the soldiery, that his presence was almost equivalent to an army. A great number of volunteers immediately assembled to signalize themselves under the eye of this renowned general. The Castilians were inspired with fresh courage, and made surprising efforts in favor of their sovereign; so that in less than three months after his defeat at Saragossa, he was in a condition to go in quest of his rival. Charles, on the other hand, was totally neglected by the courts of Vienna and Great-Britain which took no steps to supply his wants, or enable him to prosecute the advantages he had gained. In the

beginning of November his army marched back to Saragossa, and was cantoned in the neighbourhood of Cifuentes, where Staremborg established his head-quarters. General Stanhope, with the British forces, was quartered in the little town of Brihuega, where, on the twenty-seventh day of the month, he found himself suddenly surrounded by the whole Spanish army. As the place was not tenable, and he had very little ammunition, he was obliged, after a short but vigorous resistance, to capitulate, and surrender himself and all his forces prisoners of war, to the amount of two thousand men, including three lieutenant-generals, one major-general, one brigadier, with all the colonels and officers of the respective regiments. He was greatly censured for having allowed himself to be surprised; for, if he had placed a guard upon the neighbouring hills, according to the advice of General Carpenter, he might have received notice of the enemy's approach time enough to retire to Cifuentes. Thither he had detached his aide-de-camp, with an account of his situation, on the appearance of the Spanish army; and Staremborg immediately assembled his forces. About eleven in the forenoon they began to march towards Brihuega; but the roads were so bad, that night overtook them before they reached the heights in the neighbourhood of that place. Staremborg is said to have loitered away his time unnecessarily, from motives of envy to the English general, who had surrendered before his arrival. The troops lay all night on their arms near Villa-viciosa, and

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1. who doubled their number. Staremborg's left wing
1710. was utterly defeated, all the infantry that composed it having been either cut in pieces or taken: but the victors, instead of following the blow, began to plunder the baggage; and Staremborg with his right wing fought their left with surprising valor and perseverance till night. Then they retired in disorder, leaving him master of the field of battle and of all their artillery. Six thousand of the enemy were killed on the spot: but the allies had suffered so severely that the general could not maintain his ground. He ordered the cannon to be nailed up, and marched to Saragossa, from whence he retired to Catalonia. Thither he was pursued by the Duke de Vendome, who reduced Balaguer, in which he had left a garrison, and compelled him to take shelter under the walls of Barcelona. At this period the Duke de Noailles invested Gironne, which he reduced, notwithstanding the severity of the weather: so that Philip, from a fugitive, became in three months absolute master of the whole Spanish monarchy, except the province of Catalonia, and even that lay open to his incursions. Nothing of consequence was achieved on the side of Portugal, from whence the Earl of Galway returned to England by the Queen's permission. The operations of the British fleet, during this summer, were so inconsiderable as scarce to deserve notice. Sir John Norris commanded in the Mediterranean, and with a view to support the Camisars, who were in arms in the

Cevennes, failed to port Cette, within a league of Marfeilles, and at the distance of fifteen from the insurgents. The place surrendered, without opposition, to about seven hundred men that landed under the command of Major-General Saiffan, a native of Languedoc. He likewise made himself master of the town and castle of Ayde; but the Duke de Noailles advancing with a body of forces to join the Duke de Roquelaire, who commanded in those parts, the English abandoned their conquests, and re-embarked with precipitation. After the battle of Pultawa the Czar of Muscovy reduced all Livonia: but he and King Augustus agreed to a neutrality for Pomerania. The King of Sweden continued at Bender, and the Grand Signor interested himself so much in behalf of that prince, as to declare war against the Emperor of Russia. Hostilities were carried on between the Swedish and Danish fleets with various success. The malecontents in Hungary sustained repeated losses during the summer: but they were encouraged to maintain the war by the rupture between the Ottoman Porte and Russia. They were flattered with hopes of auxiliaries from the Turks; and expected engineers and money from the French monarch.

§ XVII. In England, the effects of those intrigues which had been formed against the Whig-ministers began to appear. The trial of Sacheverel had excited a popular spirit of aversion to those who favored the dissenters. From all parts of the kingdom addresses were presented to the Queen, censuring all resistance as a rebellious doctrine, founded upon antimonarchical

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and republican principles. At the same time counter-addresses were procured by the Whigs extolling the Revolution, and magnifying the conduct of the present parliament. The Queen began to express her attachment to the Tories, by mortifying the Duke of Marlborough. Upon the death of the Earl of Essex she wrote to the General, desiring that the regiment which had been commanded by that nobleman should be given to Mr. Hill, brother to Mrs. Masham, who had supplanted the Duchess of Marlborough in the Queen's friendship, and was in effect the source of this political revolution. The Duke represented to her Majesty, in person, the prejudice that would redound to the service from the promotion of such a young officer over the heads of a great many brave men, who had exhibited repeated proofs of valor and capacity. He expostulated with his sovereign on this extraordinary mark of partial regard to the brother of Mrs. Masham, which he could not help considering as a declaration against himself and his family, who had so much cause to complain of that lady's malice and ingratitude. To this remonstrance the Queen made no other reply, but that he would do well to consult his friends. The Earl of Godolphin enforced his friend's arguments, though without effect; and the Duke retired in disgust to Windsor. The Queen appeared at council without taking the least notice of his absence, which did not fail to alarm the whole Whig-faction. Several noblemen ventured to speak to her Majesty on the subject, and explain the bad consequences of disobliging a man who had done such eminent

services to the nation. She told them his services were still fresh in her memory; and that she retained all her former kindness for his person. Hearing, however, that a popular clamor was raised, and that the House of Commons intended to pass some votes that would be disagreeable to her and her new counsellors, she ordered the Earl of Godolphin to write to the Duke, to dispose of the regiment as he should think proper, and return to town immediately. Before he received this intimation he had sent a letter to the Queen, desiring she would permit him to retire from business. In answer to this petition, she assured him his suspicions were groundless, and insisted upon his coming to council. The Duchess demanded an audience of her Majesty, on pretence of vindicating her own character from some aspersions. She hoped to work upon the Queen's tenderness and retrieve the influence she had lost. She protested, argued, wept, and supplicated: but the Queen was too well pleased with her own deliverance from the tyranny of the other's friendship, to incur such slavery for the future. All the humiliation of the Duchess served only to render herself the more contemptible. The Queen heard her without exhibiting the least sign of emotion, and all she would vouchsafe, was a repetition of these words, "You desired no answer, and you shall have none:" alluding to an expression in a letter she had received from the duchess. As an additional mortification to the ministry, the office of lord-chamberlain was transferred from the Duke of Kent to the Duke of Shrewsbury, who

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had lately voted with the Tories, and maintained an intimacy of correspondence with Mr. Harley. The interest of the Duke of Marlborough was not even sufficient to prevent the dismissal of his own son-in-law, the Earl of Sunderland, from the post of secretary of state, in which he was succeeded by Lord Dartmouth.

§ XVIII. The Queen was generally applauded for thus asserting her just prerogative, and setting herself free from an arbitrary cabal, by which she had been so long kept in dependence. The Duke of Beaufort went to court on this occasion, and told her Majesty, he was extremely glad that he could now salute her Queen in reality. The whole Whig-party were justly alarmed at these alterations. The directors of the Bank represented to her Majesty the prejudice that would undoubtedly accrue to public credit from a change of the ministry. The Emperor and the States-General interposed in this domestic revolution. Their ministers at London presented memorials explaining in what manner foreign affairs would be influenced by an alteration in the British ministry. The Queen assured them, that, whatever changes might be made, the Duke of Marlborough should be continued in his employments. In the month of August the Earl of Godolphin was divested of his office, and the Treasury put in commission, subjected to the direction of Harley, appointed chancellor of the Exchequer and under-treasurer. The Earl of Rochester was declared president of the council, in the room of lord Somers: the staff of lord-steward being taken from the Duke

of Devonshire, was given to the Duke of Buckingham; and Mr. Boyle was removed from the secretary's office, to make way for Mr. Henry St. John. The Lord-Chancellor having resigned the great seal, it was first put in commission, and afterwards given to Sir Simon Harcourt. The Earl of Wharton surrendered his commission of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, which the Queen conferred on the Duke of Ormond. The Earl of Orford withdrew himself from the board of Admiralty; and Mr. George Granville was appointed secretary of war, in the room of Mr. Robert Walpole. The command of the forces in Portugal was bestowed upon the Earl of Portmore: the Duke of Hamilton was appointed lord-lieutenant of the county palatine of Lancaster. In a word, there was not one Whig left in any office of state, except the Duke of Marlborough, who would have renounced his command, had not he been earnestly dissuaded by his particular friends from taking such a step as might have been prejudicial to the interest of the nation. That the triumph of the Tories might be complete, the Queen dissolved the Whig-parliament, after such precautions were taken as could not fail to influence the new election in favor of the other party.

§ XIX. To this end nothing so effectually contributed as did the trial of Sacheverel, who was used as an instrument and tool to wind and turn the passions of the vulgar. Having been presented to a benefice in North-Wales, he went in procession to that country, with all the pomp and magnificence of a sovereign prince. He was sumptuously

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entertained by the university of Oxford, and different noblemen, who, while they worshipped him as the idol of their faction, could not help despising the object of their adoration. He was received in several towns by the magistrates of the corporation in their formalities, and often attended by a body of a thousand horse. At Bridgenorth he was met by Mr. Creswell, at the head of four thousand horse, and the like number of persons on foot, wearing white knots edged with gold, and three leaves of gilt laurel in their hats. The hedges were for two miles dressed with garlands of flowers, and lined with people; and the steeples covered with streamers, flags, and colors. Nothing was heard but the cry of "the church and Dr. Sacheverel." The clergy were actuated by a spirit of enthusiasm, which seemed to spread like a contagion through all ranks and degrees of people, and had such effect upon the elections for the new parliament, that very few were returned as members but such as had distinguished themselves by their zeal against the Whig-administration. Now the Queen had the pleasure to see all the offices of state, the lieutenancy of London, the management of corporations, and the direction of both Houses of parliament in the hands of the Tories. When these met on the twenty fifth day of November, Mr. Bromley was chosen speaker without opposition. The Queen, in her speech, recommended the prosecution of the war with vigor, especially in Spain. She declared herself resolved to support the church of England; to preserve the British constitution according to the union; to

maintain the indulgence by law allowed to scrupulous consciences; and to employ none but such as were heartily attached to the protestant succession in the House of Hanover. The Lords, in their address, promised to concur in all reasonable measures towards procuring an honorable peace. The Commons were more warm and hearty in their assurances, exhorting her Majesty to discountenance all such principles and measures as had lately threatened her royal crown and dignity; measures, which, whenever they might prevail, would prove fatal to the whole constitution, both in church and state. After this declaration they proceeded to consider the estimates, and cheerfully granted the supplies for the ensuing year, part of which was raised by two lotteries. In the House of Peers, the Earl of Scarborough moved that the thanks of the House should be returned to the Duke of Marlborough: but the Duke of Argyle made some objections to the motion, and the general's friends, dreading the consequence of putting the question, postponed the consideration of this proposal until the Duke should return from the continent. The Earl of Peterborough was appointed ambassador extraordinary to the Imperial court: the Earl of Rivers was sent in the same quality to Hanover: Mr. Richard Hill was nominated envoy extraordinary to the United Provinces, as well as to the council of state appointed for the government of the Spanish Netherlands, in the room of Lieutenant-General Cadogan. Meredith, Macartney, and Honeywood were deprived of their regiments,

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because in their cups they had drunk confusion to the enemies of the Duke of Marlborough.

§ XX. This nobleman arrived in England towards the latter end of December. He conferred about half an hour in private with the Queen, and next morning assisted at a committee of the privy-council. Her Majesty gave him to understand that he needed not to expect the thanks of the parliament as formerly; and told him she hoped he would live well with her ministers. He expressed no resentment at the alterations which had been made; but resolved to acquiesce in the Queen's pleasure, and retain the command of the army on her own terms. On the second day of January, the Queen sent a message to both Houses, intimating that there had been an action in Spain to the disadvantage of King Charles: that the damage having fallen particularly on the English forces, she had given directions for sending and procuring troops to repair the loss, and hoped the parliament would approve her conduct. Both Houses seized this opportunity of venting their spleen against the old ministry. The history of England is disgraced by the violent conduct of two turbulent factions, which, in their turn, engrossed the administration and legislative power. The parliamentary strain was quite altered. One can hardly conceive how resolutions so widely different could be taken on the same subject, with any shadow of reason and decorum. Marlborough, who but a few months before had been so highly extolled and carested by the representatives of the people, was now become the

object of parliamentary hatred and censure, though no sensible alteration had happened in his conduct or success. That hero, who had retrieved the glory of the British arms, won so many battles, subdued such a number of towns and districts, humbled the pride, and checked the ambition of France, secured the liberty of Europe; and, as it were, chained victory to his chariot-wheels, was in a few weeks dwindled into an object of contempt and derision. He was ridiculed in public libels, and reviled in private conversation. Instances were every where repeated of his fraud, avarice, and extortion; his insolence, cruelty, ambition, and misconduct: even his courage was called in question; and this consummate general was represented as the lowest of mankind. So unstable is the popularity of every character that fluctuates between two opposite tides of faction.

§ XXI. The Lords, in their answer to the Queen's message, declared, that as the misfortune in Spain might have been occasioned by some preceding mismanagement, they would use their utmost endeavours to discover it, so as to prevent the like for the future. They set on foot an inquiry concerning the affairs of Spain; and the Earl of Peterborough being examined before the committee, imputed all the miscarriages in the course of that war to the Earl of Galway and General Stanhope. Notwithstanding the defence of Galway, which was clear and convincing, the House resolved, That the Earl of Peterborough had given a faithful and honorable account of the councils of war in Valencia: That the

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Earl of Galway, Lord Tyrawley, and General Stanhope, in advising an offensive war, had been the unhappy occasion of the battle at Almanza, the source of our misfortunes in Spain, and one great cause of the disappointment from the expedition to Toulon, concerted with her Majesty. They voted, That the prosecution of an offensive war in Spain was approved and directed by the ministers, who were, therefore, justly blamable, as having contributed to all our misfortunes in Spain, and to the disappointment of the expedition against Toulon: That the Earl of Peterborough, during his command in Spain, had performed many great and eminent services; and, if his opinion had been followed, it might have prevented the misfortunes that ensued. Then the Duke of Buckingham moved, That the thanks of the House should be given to the Earl, for his remarkable and eminent services: and these he actually received from the mouth of the Lord-Keeper Harcourt, who took this opportunity to drop some oblique reflections upon the mercenary disposition of the Duke of Marlborough. The House proceeding in the inquiry, passed another vote, importing, That the late ministry had been negligent in managing the Spanish war, to the great prejudice of the nation. Finding that the Portuguese troops were posted on the right of the English at the battle of Almanza, they resolved, that the Earl of Galway, in yielding this point, had acted contrary to the honor of the imperial crown of Great-Britain. These resolutions they included in an address to the Queen, who had been present during the debates,

which were extremely violent; and to every separate vote was attached a severe protest. These were not the proceedings of candor and national justice, but the ebullitions of party - zeal and rancorous animosity.

§ XXII. While the Lords were employed in this inquiry, the Commons examined certain abuses which had crept into the management of the navy; and some censures were passed upon certain persons concerned in contracts for victualling the seamen. The inhabitants of St. Olave's and other parishes presented a petition, complaining that a great number of Palatines, inhabiting one house, might produce among them a contagious distemper; and in time become a charge to the public, as they were destitute of all visible means of subsistence. This petition had been procured by the Tories, that the House of Commons might have another handle for attacking the late ministry. A committee was appointed to inquire upon what invitation or encouragement those Palatines had come to England. The papers relating to this affair being laid before them by the Queen's order, and perused, the House resolved, That the inviting and bringing over the poor Palatines of all religions, at the public expense, was an extravagant and unreasonable charge to the kingdom, and a scandalous misapplication of the public money, tending to the increase and oppression of the poor, and of dangerous consequence to the constitution in church and state; and, That whoever advised their being brought over was an enemy to the Queen and kingdom. Animated

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by the heat of this inquiry, they passed the bill to repeal the act for a general naturalization of all protestants: but this was rejected in the House of Lords. Another bill was enacted into a law, importing, That no person should be deemed qualified for representing a county in parliament, unless he possessed an estate of six hundred pounds a-year; and restricting the qualification of burghers to half that sum. The design of this bill was to exclude trading people from the House of Commons, and to lodge the legislative power with the land-holders. A third act passed, permitting the importation of French wine in neutral bottoms: a bill against which the Whigs loudly exclaimed, as a national evil, and a scandalous compliment to the enemy.

§ XXIII. A violent party in the House of Commons began to look upon Harley as a lukewarm Tory, because he would not enter precipitately into all their factious measures: they even began to suspect his principles, when his credit was re-established by a very singular accident. Guiscard, the French partisan, of whom mention hath already been made, thought himself very ill rewarded for his services, with a precarious pension of four hundred pounds, which he enjoyed from the Queen's bounty. He had been renounced by St. John, the former companion of his pleasures: he had in vain endeavoured to obtain an audience of the Queen, with a view to demand more considerable appointments. Harley was his enemy, and all access to her Majesty was denied. Enraged at these disappointments, he attempted to make his peace with the court of France, and offered his services,

services, in a letter to one Moreau, a banker, in Paris. This packet, which he endeavoured to transmit by the way of Portugal, was intercepted, and a warrant issued out to apprehend him for high-treason. When the messenger disarmed him in St. James's park, he exhibited marks of guilty confusion and despair, and begged that he would kill him directly. Being conveyed to the cockpit, in a sort of frenzy, he perceived a penknife lying upon a table, and took it up without being perceived by the attendants. A committee of council was immediately summoned, and Guiscard brought before them to be examined. Finding that his correspondence with Moreau was discovered, he desired to speak in private with Secretary St. John, whom, in all probability, he had resolved to assassinate. His request being refused, he said, "That's hard! not one word!" St. John being out of his reach, he stepped up to Mr. Harley, and exclaiming, "Have at thee, then!" stabbed him in the breast with the penknife which he had concealed. The instrument broke upon the bone, without penetrating into the cavity: nevertheless, he repeated the blow with such force, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer fell to the ground. Secretary St. John, seeing him fall, cried out, "The villain has killed Mr. Harley!" and drew his sword. Several other members followed his example, and wounded Guiscard, in several places. Yet he made a desperate defence, until he was overpowered by the messengers and servants, and conveyed from the council-chamber, which he had filled with terror, tumult, and confusion.

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His wounds, though dangerous, were not mortal: but he died of a gangrene occasioned by the bruises he had sustained. This attempt upon the life of Harley, by a person who wanted to establish a traitorous correspondence with France, extinguished the suspicions of those who began to doubt that minister's integrity. The two Houses of parliament, in an address to the Queen, declared their belief, that Mr. Harley's fidelity to her Majesty, and zeal for her service, had drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction. They besought her Majesty to take all possible care of her sacred person; and, for that purpose, to give directions for causing papists to be removed from the cities of London and Westminster². A proclamation was published, ordering the laws to be strictly put in execution against papists. When Harley appeared in the House of Commons after his recovery, he was congratulated upon it by the Speaker, in a florid and fulsome premeditated speech. An act was passed, decreeing, That an attempt upon the life of a privy-counsellor should be felony without benefit of clergy. The Earl of Rochester dying, Harley became sole minister, was created baron of Wigmore, and raised to the rank of earl, by the noble and ancient titles of Oxford and Mortimer: to crown his prosperity, he was appointed lord-treasurer, and vested with the supreme administration of affairs.

² Burnet. Quincy. Feuquieres. Torcy. Burchet. Hist. of the D. of Marlborough. Mil. Hist. Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough. Tindal. Lives of the Admirals. Voltaire.

§ XXIV. The Commons empowered certain persons to examine all the grants made by King William, and report the value of them, as well as the considerations upon which they were made. Upon their report a bill was formed, and passed that House; but the Lords rejected it at the first reading. Their next step was to examine the public accounts, with a view to fix an imputation on the Earl of Godolphin. They voted, That above five - and - thirty millions of the money granted by parliament remained unaccounted for. This sum, however, included some accounts in the reigns of King Charles and King William. One half of the whole was charged to Mr. Bridges, the paymaster, who had actually accounted for all the money he had received, except about three millions, though these accounts had not passed through the auditor's office. The Commons afterwards proceeded to inquire into the debts of the navy, that exceeded five millions, which, with many other debts, were thrown into one stock, amounting to nine millions four - hundred and seventy - one thousand three hundred and twenty-five pounds. A fund was formed for paying an interest or annuity of six per cent. until the principal should be discharged; and with this was granted a monopoly of a projected trade to the South-Sea, vested in the proprietors of navy - bills, debentures, and other public securities, which were incorporated for this purpose. Such was the origin of the South-Sea company, founded upon a chimerical supposition, that, the English would be permitted to trade upon the coast of Peru in the West-Indies. Perhaps, the new ministry hoped to obtain this

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permission, as an equivalent for their abandoning the interest of King Charles, with respect to his pretensions upon Spain. By this time the Emperor Joseph had died of the small-pox without male issue; so that his brother's immediate aim was to succeed him on the Imperial throne. This event was, on the twentieth day of April, communicated by a message from the Queen to both Houses. She told them, that the States-General had concurred with her in a resolution to support the House of Austria; and that they had already taken such measures as would secure the election of Charles as head of the empire.

§ XXV. The House of Commons, in order to demonstrate their attachment to the church, in consequence of an address from the lower house of convocation, and a quickening message from the Queen, passed a bill for building fifty new churches in the suburbs of London and Westminster, and appropriated for this purpose the duty upon coals, which had been granted for the building of St. Paul's, now finished. This imposition was continued until it should raise the sum of three hundred and fifty thousand pounds. At the close of the session, the Commons presented a remonstrance or representation to the Queen, in which they told her, that they had not only raised the necessary supplies, but also discharged the heavy debts of which the nation had so long and justly complained. They said, that, in tracing the causes of this debt, they had discovered fraud, embezzlement, and misapplication of the public money: that they who of late years had the management of the Treasury were guilty of notorious breach

of trust and injustice to the nation, in allowing above thirty millions to remain unaccounted for; a purposed omission that looked like a design to conceal embezzlements. They begged her Majesty would give immediate directions for compelling the several imprest accountants speedily to pass their accounts. They expressed their hope, that such of the accountants as had neglected their duty in prosecuting their accounts ought no longer to be intrusted with the public money. They affirmed, that from all these evil practices and worse designs of some persons, who had, by false professions of love to their country, insinuated themselves into her royal favor, irreparable mischief would have accrued to the public, had not her Majesty, in her great wisdom, seasonably discovered the fatal tendency of such measures, and removed from the administration those who had so ill answered her Majesty's favorable opinion, and in so many instances grossly abused the trust reposed in them. They observed, that her people could with greater patience have suffered the manifold injuries done to themselves, by the frauds and depredations of such evil ministers, had not the same men proceeded to treat her sacred person with undutifulness and disregard. This representation being circulated through the kingdom, produced the desired effect of inflaming the minds of the people against the late ministry. Such expedients were become necessary for the execution of Oxford's project, which was to put a speedy end to a war that had already subjected the people to grievous oppression, and even accumulated heavy burdens to be

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CHAP. transmitted to their posterity. The nation was in-
 X. spired by extravagant ideas of glory and conquest,
 1711. even to a rage of war-making; so that the new ministers, in order to dispel those dangerous chimeras, were obliged to take measures for exciting their indignation and contempt against those persons whom they had formerly idolized as their heroes and patriots. On the twelfth day of June, the Queen, having given the royal assent to several public and private bills, made an affectionate speech to both Houses. She thanked the Commons, in the warmest expressions, for having complied with all her desires; for having baffled the expectations of her enemies in finding supplies for the service of the ensuing year; in having granted greater sums than were ever given to any prince in one session; and in having settled funds for the payment of the public debts, so that the credit of the nation was restored. She expressed her earnest concern for the succession of the house of Hanover; and her fixed resolution to support and encourage the church of England as by law established. Then the parliament was prorogued.

§ XXVI. Of the convocation which was assembled with the new parliament, the Lower House chose Dr. Atterbury their prolocutor. He was an enterprising ecclesiastic, of extensive learning, acute talents, violently attached to Tory-principles, and intimately connected with the prime minister, Oxford; so that he directed all the proceedings in the Lower House of convocation, in concert with that minister. The Queen, in a letter to the archbishop, signified her hope, that the consultations of the

clergy might be of use to repress the attempts of loose and profane persons. She sent a licence under the broad seal, empowering them to sit and do business in as ample a manner as ever had been granted since the reformation. They were ordered to lay before the Queen an account of the excessive growth of infidelity and heresy, as well as of other abuses, that necessary measures might be taken for a reformation. The bishops were purposely slighted and overlooked, because they had lived in harmony with the late ministers. A committee being appointed to draw up a representation of the present state of the church and religion, Atterbury undertook the task, and composed a remonstrance that contained the most keen and severe strictures upon the administration, as it had been exercised since the time of the Revolution. Another was penned by the bishops in more moderate terms; and several regulations were made, but in none of these did the two Houses agree. They concurred, however, in censuring some tenets favoring Arianism, broached and supported by Mr. Whiston, mathematical professor in Cambridge. He had been expelled the university, and wrote a vindication of himself, dedicated to the convocation. The archbishop doubted whether this assembly could proceed against a man for heresy: the judges were consulted, and the majority of them gave in their opinion, that the convocation had a jurisdiction. Four of them professed the contrary sentiment, which they maintained from the statutes made at the reformation. The Queen, in a letter to the bishops, said, that as

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there was now no doubt of their jurisdiction, she expected they would proceed in the matter before them. Fresh scruples arising, they determined to examine the book, without proceeding against the author, and this was censured accordingly. An extract of the sentence was sent to the Queen; but she did not signify her pleasure on this subject, and the affair remained in suspense. Whiston published a work in four volumes, justifying his doctrine, and maintaining that the apostolical constitutions were not only canonical, but also preferable in point of authority to the epistles and the gospel.

§ XXVII. The new ministry had not yet determined to supersede the Duke of Marlborough in the command of the army. This was a step which could not be taken without giving umbrage to the Dutch and other allies. He, therefore, set out for Holland in the month of February, after the Queen had assured him, that he might depend upon the punctual payment of the forces. Having conferred with the deputies of the States about the operations of the campaign, he, about the middle of April, assembled the army at Orchies, between Lille and Douay; while Marechal de Villars drew together the French troops in the neighbourhood of Cambray and Arras. Louis had by this time depopulated as well as impoverished his kingdom; yet his subjects still flocked to his standard with surprising spirit and attachment. Under the pressure of extreme misery they uttered not one complaint of their sovereign; but imputed all their calamities to the pride and obstinacy of the allies. Exclusive of all the other

impositions that were laid upon that people, they consented to pay the tenth penny of their whole substance: but all their efforts of loyalty and affection to their prince would have been ineffectual, had not the merchants of the kingdom, by the permission of Philip, undertaken repeated voyages to the South-Sea, from whence they brought home immense treasures; while the allies took no steps for intercepting these supplies, though nothing could have been more easy for the English than to deprive the enemy of this great resource, and convert it to their own advantage. Had a squadron of ships been annually employed for this purpose, the subjects of France and Spain must have been literally starved, and Louis obliged to submit to such terms at the confederates might have thought proper to impose. Villars had found means to assemble a very numerous army, with which he encamped behind the river Sanfet, in such an advantageous post as could not be attacked with any prospect of success. Mean while the Duke of Marlborough passed the Scarpe, and formed his camp between Douay and Bouchain, where he was joined by Prince Eugene on the twenty-third day of May. This general, however, did not long remain in the Netherlands. Understanding that detachments had been made from the army of Villars to the Rhine, and that the Elector of Bavaria intended to act in the empire, the Prince by order from the court of Vienna, marched towards the Upper Rhine with the Imperial and Palatine troops, to secure Germany. The Duke of Marlborough repassing the Scarpe, encamped in the plains of Lens, from whence he

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B O O K advanced towards Aire, as if he had intended to
I. attack the French lines in that quarter. These
1711. lines, beginning at Bouchain on the Schelde, were continued along the Sanfet and the Scarpe to Arras, and thence along the Upper Scarpe to Canché. They were defended by redoubts and other works, in such a manner, that Villars judged they were impregnable, and called them the *Ne plus ultra* of Marlborough.

§ XXVIII. This nobleman advancing within two leagues of the French lines, ordered a great number of fascines to be made, declaring he would attack them the next morning; so that Villars drew all his forces on that side, in full expectation of an engagement. The Duke, on the supposition that the passage of the Sanfet by Arleux would be left unguarded, had ordered the Generals Cadogan and Hompesch to assemble twenty battalions and seventeen squadrons from Douay and the neighbouring garrisons, to march to Arleux, where they should endeavour to pass the Sanfet. Brigadier Sutton was detached with the artillery and pontoons, to lay bridges over the canal near Gouzezen, and over the Scarpe at Vitry, while the Duke with the whole confederate army, began his march for the same place about nine in the evening. He proceeded with such expedition, that by five in the morning he passed the river at Vitry. There he received intelligence, that Hompesch had taken possession of the passes on the Sanfet and Schelde without opposition, the enemy having withdrawn

their detachments from that side, just as he had imagined. He himself, with his vanguard of fifty squadrons, hastened his march towards Arleux, and before eight of the clock arrived at Baca-Bachuel, where in two hours he was joined by the heads of the columns into which he had divided his infantry. Villars being certified of his intention, about two in the morning, decamped with his whole army, and putting himself at the head of the King's household troops, marched all night with such expedition, that about eleven in the forenoon he was in sight of the Duke of Marlborough, who had by this time joined Count Hompesch. The French general immediately retreated to the main body of his army, which had advanced to the high-road between Arras and Cambray, while the allies encamped upon the Schelde, between Oisy and Estrun, after a march of ten leagues without halting, scarce to be paralleled in History. By this plan, so happily executed, the Duke of Marlborough fairly outwitted Villars, and, without the loss of one man, entered the lines which he had pronounced impregnable. This stroke of the English general was extolled as a master-piece of military skill, while Villars was exposed to the ridicule even of his own officers. The field-deputies of the States-General proposed that he should give battle to the enemy, who passed the Schelde at Crevecœur, in order to cover Bouchain: but the Duke would not hazard an engagement, considering how much the army was fatigued by the long march; and that any misfortune, while they continued within the French lines, might be fatal. His

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I. that was deemed impracticable, inasmuch as the
1711. place was situated in a morass, strongly fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison, in the neighbourhood of an army superior in number to that of the allies. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, and the dissuasions of his own friends, he resolved to undertake the siege; and, in the mean time, dispatched Brigadier Sutton to England, with an account of his having passed the French lines; which was not at all agreeable to his enemies. They had prognosticated that nothing would be done during this campaign, and began to insinuate that the Duke could strike no stroke of importance without the assistance of Prince Eugene. They now endeavoured to lessen the glory of his success; and even taxed him with having removed his camp from a convenient situation to a place where the troops were in danger of starving. Nothing could be more provoking than this scandalous malevolence to a great man who had done so much honor to his country, and was then actually exposing his life in her service.

§ XXIX. On the tenth day of August, Bouchain was invested, and the Duke of Marlborough exerted himself to the utmost extent of his vigilance and capacity, well knowing the difficulties of the undertaking, and how much his reputation would depend upon his success. Villars had taken every precaution that his skill and experience could suggest, to baffle the endeavours of the English general. He had re-enforced the garrison to the number of six

thousand chosen men, commanded by officers of known courage and ability. He made some efforts to raise the siege; but they were rendered ineffectual by the consummate prudence and activity of the Duke of Marlborough. Then he laid a scheme for surprising Douay, which likewise miscarried. If we consider that the English general, in the execution of his plan, was obliged to form lines, erect regular forts, raise batteries, throw bridges over a river, make a causeway through a deep morass, provide for the security of convoys against a numerous army on one side, and the garrisons of Condé and Valenciennes on the other, we must allow this was the boldest enterprise of the whole war; that it required all the fortitude, skill, and resolution of a great general, and all the valor and intrepidity of the confederate troops, who had scarce ever exhibited such amazing proofs of courage upon any other occasion as they now displayed at the siege of Bouchain. In twenty days after the trenches were opened, the garrison were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war; and this conquest was the last military exploit performed by the Duke of Marlborough: the breaches of Bouchain were no sooner repaired than the opposite armies began to separate, and the allied forces were quartered in the frontier-towns, that they might be at hand to take the field early in the spring. They were now in possession of the Maese, almost as far as the Sambre; of the Schelde from Tournay; and of the Lys as far as it is navigable. They had reduced Spanish Guelderland, Limburgh, Brabant, Flanders, and the greatest

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part of Hainault: they were masters of the Scarpe; and, by the conquest of Bouchain, they had opened to themselves a way into the very bowels of France. All these acquisitions were owing to the valor and conduct of the Duke of Marlborough, who now returned to the Hague, and arrived in England about the middle of November.

§ XXX. The Queen had conferred the command of her forces in Spain upon the Duke of Argyle, who was recalled from the service in Flanders for that purpose. He had long been at variance with the Duke of Marlborough; a circumstance which recommended him the more strongly to the ministry. He landed at Barcelona on the twenty-ninth of May, and found the British troops in the utmost distress for want of subsistence. The Treasurer had promised to supply him liberally; the Commons had granted one million five hundred thousand pounds for that service. All their hopes of success were fixed on the campaign in that kingdom; and indeed the army commanded by the Duke de Vendome was in such a wretched condition, that if Staremberg had been properly supported by the allies, he might have obtained signal advantages. The Duke of Argyle, having waited in vain for the promised remittances, was obliged to borrow money on his own credit, before the British troops could take the field. At length Staremberg advanced towards the enemy, who attacked him at the pass of Prato del Rey, where they were repulsed with considerable damage. After this action the Duke of Argyle was seized with a violent fever, and conveyed back to Barcelona. Vendome

invested the castle of Cardona, which was vigorously defended till the end of December, when a detachment being sent to the relief of the place, defeated the besiegers, killed two thousand on the spot, and took all their artillery, ammunition, and baggage. Staremborg was unable to follow the blow: the Duke of Argyle wrote pressing letters to the ministry, and loudly complained that he was altogether unsupported; but all his remonstrances were ineffectual: no remittances arrived: and he returned to England without having been able to attempt any thing of importance. In September, King Charles, leaving his Queen at Barcelona, set sail for Italy, and at Milan had an interview with the Duke of Savoy, where all disputes were compromised. That prince had forced his way into Savoy, and penetrated as far as the Rhine: but he suddenly halted in the middle of his career, and after a short campaign repassed the mountains. Prince Eugene, at the head of the German forces, protected the Electors at Francfort from the designs of the enemy, and Charles was unanimously chosen Emperor; the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria having been excluded from voting, because they lay under the ban of the empire. The war between the Ottoman Porte and the Muscovites was of short duration. The Czar advanced so far into Moldavia, that he was cut off from all supplies, and altogether in the power of his enemy. In this emergency, he found means to corrupt the Grand-Vizier in private, while in public he proposed articles of peace that were accepted. The King of Sweden, who was in the

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Turkish army, charged the Vizier with treachery, and that minister was actually disgraced. The Grand-Signor threatened to renew the war: but he was appeased by the Czar's surrendering Afoph.

§ XXXI. The English ministry had conceived great expectations from an expedition against Quebec and Placentia, in North-America, planned by Colonel Nicholson, who had taken possession of Nova-Scotia, and garrisoned Port-Royal, to which he gave the name of Annapolis. He had brought four Indian chiefs to England, and represented the advantages that would redound to the nation, in point of commerce, should the French be expelled from North-America. The ministers relished the proposal. A body of five thousand men was embarked in transports, under the command of Brigadier Hill, brother to Mrs. Masham; and they sailed from Plymouth in the beginning of May, with a strong squadron of ships commanded by Sir Hovenden Walker. At Boston in New-England, they were joined by two regiments of Provincials; and about four thousand men, consisting of American planters, Palatines, and Indians, rendezvoused at Albany, in order to march by land into Canada, while the fleet sailed up the river of that name. On the twenty-first day of August, they were exposed to a violent storm, and driven among rocks, where eight transports perished, with about eight hundred men. The admiral immediately sailed back to Spanish-River-bay, where it was determined, in a council of war, that as the fleet and forces were victualled

victualled for ten weeks only, and they could not depend upon a supply of provisions from New-England, they should return home, without making any further attempt. Such was the issue of this paltry expedition, intrusted to the direction of an officer without talents and experience.

§ XXXII. In the Irish parliament held during the summer, the Duke of Ormond and the majority of the Peers supported the Tory-interest, while the Commons expressed the warmest attachment to Revolution-principles. The two Houses made strenuous representations, and passed severe resolutions against each other. After the session, Sir Constantine Phipps, the chancellor, and General Ingoldsby, were appointed justices in the absence of the Duke of Ormond, who returned to England in the month of November. In Scotland the Jacobites made no scruple of professing their principles and attachments to the Pretender. The Duchess of Gordon presented the Faculty of Advocates with a silver medal, representing the Chevalier de St. George; and on the reverse the British islands, with the motto "*reddite.*" After some debate, it was voted, by a majority of sixty-three voices against twelve, that the Duchess should be thanked for this token of her regard. This task was performed by Dundas of Arnistoun, who thanked her grace for having presented them with a medal of their sovereign lord the King; hoping, and being confident, that her Grace would very soon have an opportunity to compliment the Faculty with a second medal, struck upon the restoration of the King and royal family, upon the finishing

B O O K rebellion, usurping tyranny, and whiggery. An
I. account of this transaction being laid before the
1711. Queen, the Lord-Advocate was ordered to inquire into the particulars. Then the Faculty were so intimidated, that they disowned Dundas, and Horne his accomplice. They pretended that the affair of the medal had been transacted by a party at an occasional meeting, and not by general consent; and by a solemn act they declared their attachment to the Queen and the protestant succession. The court was satisfied with this atonement: but the resident from Hanover having presented a memorial to the Queen, desiring that Dundas and his associates might be prosecuted, the government removed Sir David Dalrymple from his office of lord-advocate, on pretence of his having been too remiss in prosecuting those delinquents; and no further inquiry was made into the affair.

§ XXXIII. For some time a negociation for peace had been carried on between the court of France and the new ministers, who had a double aim in this measure; namely, to mortify the Whigs and the Dutch, whom they detested, and to free their country from a ruinous war, which had all the appearance of becoming habitual to the constitution. They foresaw the risque they would run by entering into such measures, should ever the opposite faction regain the ascendancy: they knew the Whigs would employ all their art and influence, which was very powerful, in obstructing the peace, and in raising a popular clamor against the treaty. But their motives for treating were such as prompted them to

undervalue all those difficulties and dangers. They hoped to obtain such advantages in point of commerce for the subjects of Great-Britain, as would silence all detraction. They did not doubt of being able to maintain the superiority which they had acquired in parliament; and perhaps some of them cherished views in favor of the Pretender, whose succession to the crown would have effectually established their dominion over the opposite party. The Earl of Jersey, who acted in concert with Oxford sent a private message to the court of France, importing the Queen's earnest desire of peace, representing the impossibility of a private negociation, as the ministry was obliged to act with the utmost circumspection, and desiring that Louis would propose to the Dutch a renewal of the conferences, in which case the English plenipotentiaries should have such instructions, that it would be impossible for the States-General to prevent the conclusion of the treaty. This intimation was delivered by one Gualtier, an obscure priest, who acted as chaplain to Count Gallas, the Imperial ambassador, and had been employed as a spy by the French ministry, since the commencement of hostilities. His connexion with Lord Jersey was by means of that nobleman's lady, who professed the Roman Catholic religion. His message was extremely agreeable to the court of Versailles. He returned to London, with a letter of compliment from the Marquis de Torcy to the Earl of Jersey, in which that minister assured him of his master's sincere inclination for peace, though he was averse to a renewal of the conferences with the States-General. Gualtier wrote

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a letter to Versailles, desiring, in the name of the English ministry, that his Most Christian Majesty would communicate to them his proposals for a general peace, which they would communicate to the States-General, that they might negotiate in concert with their allies. A general answer being made to this intimation, Gualtier made a second journey to Versailles, and brought over a memorial, which was immediately transmitted to Holland. In the mean time, the Pensionary endeavoured to renew the conferences in Holland, Petkum wrote to the French ministry, that if his Majesty would resume the negociation, in concert with the Queen of Great-Britain, he should certainly have reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Dutch deputies. This proposal Louis declined, at the desire of the English ministers.

§ XXXIV. The States-General having perused the memorial, assured Queen Anne that they were ready to join with her in contributing to the conclusion of a durable peace: but they expressed a desire that the French King would communicate a more particular plan for securing the interest of the allied powers, and for settling the repose of Europe. Gualtier was once more sent to Versailles, accompanied by Mr. Prior, who had resided in France, as secretary to the embassies of the Earls of Portland and Jersey. This gentleman had acquired some reputation by his poetical talents; was a man of uncommon ability, insinuating address, and perfectly devoted to the Tory-interest. He was empowered to communicate the preliminary

demands of the English; to receive the answer of the French King; and demand whether or not King Philip had transmitted a power of treating to his grandfather. He arrived incognito at Fontainebleau, and presented the Queen's memorial, in which she demanded a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands, and another on the Rhine for the empire; a security for the Dutch commerce, and a general satisfaction to all her allies. She required that the strong places taken from the Duke of Savoy should be restored; and that he should possess such towns and districts in Italy as had been ceded to him in treaties between him and his allies: that Louis should acknowledge Queen Anne and the protestant succession, demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk; and agree to a new treaty of commerce: that Gibraltar and Port-Mahon should be yielded to the crown of England: that the negro-trade in America, at that time carried on by the French, should be ceded to the English, together with some towns on that continent, where the slaves might be refreshed. She expected security that her subjects trading to Spain should enjoy all advantages granted by that crown to the most favored nation: that she should be put in possession of Newfoundland and Hudson's-Bay, either by way of restitution or cession; and that both nations should continue to enjoy whatever territories they might be possessed of in North-America at the ratification of the treaties. She likewise insisted upon a security that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united on the same head. Her Majesty no longer insisted upon Philip's being expelled from the throne of Spain by

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the arms of his own grandfather. She now perceived that the exorbitant power of the house of Austria would be as dangerous to the liberty of Europe, as ever that of the family of Bourbon had been, in the zenith of its glory. She might have remembered the excessive power, the insolence, the ambition of Charles V. and Philip II. who had enslaved so many countries, and embroiled all Europe. She was sincerely desirous of peace, from motives of humanity and compassion to her subjects and fellow-creatures: she was eagerly bent upon procuring such advantages to her people, as would enable them to discharge the heavy load of debt under which they labored, and recompense them in some measure for the blood and treasure they had so lavishly expended in the prosecution of the war. These were the sentiments of a Christian princess; of an amiable and pious sovereign, who bore a share in the grievances of her subjects, and looked upon them with the eyes of maternal affection. She thought she had the better title to insist upon those advantages, as they had been already granted to her subjects in a private treaty with King Charles.

§ XXXV. As Prior's powers were limited in such a manner that he could not negotiate, Mr. Menager, deputy from the city of Rouen to the Board of Trade, accompanied the English minister to London, with full powers to settle the preliminaries of the treaty. On his arrival in London, the Queen immediately commissioned the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Earls of Jersey, Dartmouth, Oxford, and Mr. St. John, to treat with him; and the conferences

were immediately begun. After long and various disputes, they agreed upon certain preliminary articles, which, on the eighth day of October, were signed by the French minister, and by the two secretaries of state, in consequence of a written order from her Majesty. Then Menager was privately introduced to the Queen at Windsor. She told him she was averse to war: that she would exert all her power to conclude a speedy peace: that she should be glad to live upon good terms with the King of France, to whom she was so nearly allied in blood: she expressed her hope that there would be a closer union after the peace between them, and between their subjects, cemented by a perfect correspondence and friendship. The Earl of Strafford, who had been lately recalled from the Hague, where he resided as ambassador, was now sent back to Holland, with orders to communicate to the Pensionary the proposals of peace which France had made; to signify the Queen's approbation of them, and propose a place where the plenipotentiaries should assemble. The English ministers now engaged in an intimate correspondence with the court of Versailles, and Mareschal Tallard being released from his confinement at Nottingham, was allowed to return to his own country on his parole. After the departure of Menager, the preliminaries were communicated to Count Gallas, the Emperor's minister, who, in order to inflame the minds of the people, caused them to be translated, and inserted in one of the daily papers. This step was so much resented by the Queen, that she sent a message, desiring he

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would come no more to court ; but that he might leave the kingdom as soon as he should think proper. He took the hint, and retired accordingly ; but the Queen gave the Emperor to understand, that any other minister he should appoint would be admitted by her without hesitation.

§ XXXVI. The States of Holland alarmed at the preliminaries, sent over Buys, as envoy extraordinary, to intercede with the Queen, that she would alter her resolutions ; but she continued steady to her purpose, and the Earl of Strafford demanded the immediate concurrence of the States, declaring, in the Queen's name, that she would look upon any delay, on their part, as a refusal to comply with her propositions. Intimidated by this declaration, they agreed to open the general conferences at Utrecht on the first day of January. They granted passports to the French ministers ; while the Queen appointed Robinson Bishop of Bristol, and the Earl of Stafford, her plenipotentiaries at the congress. Charles, the new Emperor, being at Milan when he received a copy of the preliminaries, wrote circular letters to the Electors and the princes of the empire, exhorting them to persist in their engagements to the grand alliance. He likewise desired the States-General to join councils with him in persuading the Queen of England to reject the proposals of France, and prosecute the war ; or at least to negotiate on the foundation of the first preliminaries, which had been signed by the Marquis de Torcy. He wrote a letter to the same purpose to the Queen of Great-Britain, who

received it with the most mortifying indifference. No wonder that he should zealously contend for the continuance of a war, the expense of which she and the Dutch had hitherto almost wholly defrayed. The new preliminaries were severely attacked by the Whigs, who ridiculed and reviled the ministry in word and writing. Pamphlets, libels, and lampoons were to day published by one faction, and to-morrow answered by the other. They contained all the insinuations of malice and contempt, all the bitterness of reproach, and all the rancor of recrimination. In the midst of this contention, the Queen dispatched the Earl of Rivers to Hanover, with an assurance to the Elector, that his succession to the crown should be effectually ascertained in the treaty. The Earl brought back an answer in writing; but, at the same time, his electoral highness ordered the Baron de Bothmar, his envoy in England, to present a memorial to the Queen, representing the pernicious consequences of Philip's remainig in possession of Spain and the West-Indies. This remonstrance the Baron published, by way of appeal to the people, and the Whigs extolled it with the highest encomiums: but the Queen and her ministers resented this step, as an officious and inflammatory interposition.

§ XXXVII. The proposals of peace made by the French King were disagreeable even to some individuals of the Tory-party, and certain peers, who had hitherto adhered to that interest, agreed with the Whigs, to make a remonstrance against the preliminary articles. The court being apprized of

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their intention, prorogued the parliament till the seventh day of December, in expectation of the Scottish peers, who would cast the balance in favor of the ministry. In her speech, at the opening of the session, she told them that, notwithstanding the arts of those who delighted in war, the place and time were appointed for a congress: and that the States-General had expressed their entire confidence in her conduct. She declared her chief concern should be to secure the succession of the crown in the House of Hanover; to procure all the advantages to the nation which a tender and affectionate sovereign could procure for a dutiful and loyal people; and to obtain satisfaction for all her allies. She observed, that the most effectual way to procure an advantageous peace would be to make preparations for carrying on the war with vigor. She recommended unanimity, and prayed God would direct their consultations. In the House of Lords, the Earl of Nottingham, who had now associated himself with the Whigs, inveighed against the preliminaries as captious and insufficient, and offered a clause to be inserted in the address of thanks, representing to her Majesty, that, in the opinion of the House, no peace could be safe or honorable to Great-Britain or Europe, if Spain and the West-Indies should be allotted to any branch of the House of Bourbon. A violent debate ensued, in the course of which the Earl of Anglesey represented the necessity of easing the nation of the burdens incurred by an expensive war. He affirmed that a good peace might have

been procured immediately after the battle of Ramillies, if it had not been prevented by some persons who prolonged the war for their own private interest. This insinuation was levelled at the Duke of Marlborough, who made a long speech in his own vindication. He bowed to the place where the Queen sat incognito, and appealed to her, whether, while he had the honor to serve her Majesty as general and plenipotentiary, he had not constantly informed her and her council of all the proposals of peace which had been made; and had not desired instructions for his conduct on that subject? He declared, upon his conscience, and in presence of the Supreme Being, before whom he expected soon to appear, that he was ever desirous of a safe, honorable, and lasting peace; and that he was always very far from entertaining any design of prolonging the war for his own private advantage, as his enemies had most falsely insinuated. At last the question being put, Whether the Earl of Nottingham's advice should be part of the address; it was carried in the affirmative by a small majority. The address was accordingly presented; and the Queen, in her answer, said she should be very sorry any one could think she would not do her utmost to recover Spain and the West-Indies from the House of Bourbon. Against this advice, however, several peers protested, because there was no precedent for inserting a clause of advice in an address of thanks; and because they looked upon it as an invasion of the royal prerogative. In the address of the Commons there was no such article; and therefore, the answer they received was warm and cordial.

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§ XXXVIII. The Duke of Hamilton claiming a seat in the House of Peers, as Duke of Brandon, a title he had lately received, was opposed by the anti-courtiers, who pretended to foresee great danger to the constitution from admitting into the House a greater number of Scottish peers than the act of Union allowed. Counsel was heard upon the validity of his patent. They observed that no objection could be made to the Queen's prerogative in conferring honors; and that all the subjects of the united kingdom were equally capable of receiving honor. The House of Lords had already decided the matter, in admitting the Duke of Queensberry upon his being created Duke of Dover. The debate was managed with great ability on both sides: the Scottish peers united in defence of the Duke's claim; and the court exerted its whole strength to support the patent. Nevertheless, the question being put, Whether Scottish peers, created peers of Great-Britain since the Union, had a right to sit in that House? it was carried in the negative by a majority of five voices; though not without a protest signed by the lords in the opposition. The Scottish peers were so incensed at this decision, that they drew up a representation to the Queen, complaining of it as an infringement of the Union, and a mark of disgrace put upon the whole peerage of Scotland. The bill against occasional conformity was revived by the Earl of Nottingham, in more moderate terms than those that had been formerly rejected; and it passed both Houses by the connivance

of the Whigs, upon the Earl's promise, that if they would consent to this measure, he would bring over many friends to join them in matters of greater consequence. On the twenty-second day of December, the Queen being indisposed, granted a commission to the Lord-Keeper, and some other peers, to give the royal assent to this bill, and another for the land-tax. The Duke of Devonshire obtained leave to bring in a bill for giving precedence of all peers to the Electoral Prince of Hanover, as Duke of Cambridge. An address was presented to the Queen, desiring she would give instructions to her plenipotentiaries, to consult with the ministers of the allies in Holland before the opening of the congress; that they might concert the necessary measures for proceeding with unanimity, the better to obtain the great ends proposed by her Majesty.

§ XXXIX. The commissioners for examining the public accounts having discovered that the Duke of Marlborough had received an annual present of five or six thousand pounds from the contractors of bread to the army, the Queen declared in council, that she thought fit to dismiss him from all his employments, that the matter might be impartially examined. This declaration was imparted to him in a letter under her own hand, in which she took occasion to complain of the treatment she had received. She probably alluded to the insolence of his duchess; the subjection in which she had been kept by the late ministry; and the pains lately taken by the Whigs to depreciate her

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conduct, and thwart her measures with respect to the peace. The Duke wrote an answer to her Majesty, vindicating himself from the charge which had been brought against his character; and his two daughters, the Countess of Sunderland and the Lady Rialton, resigned their places of ladies of the bed-chamber. The ministry, in order to ascertain a majority in the House of Lords, persuaded the Queen to take a measure which nothing but necessity could justify. She created twelve peers at once³; and on the second of January they were introduced into the Upper-House without opposition. The Lord-Keeper delivered to the House a message from the Queen, desiring they would adjourn to the fourteenth day of the month.

³ Lord Compton and Lord Bruce, sons of the Earls of Northampton and Aylesbury, were called up by writ to the House of Peers. The other ten were these: Lord Duplin, of the kingdom of Scotland, created Baron Hay of Bedwardin, in the county of Hereford; Lord Viscount Windsor, of Ireland, made, Baron Mountjoy, in the Isle of Wight; Henry Paget, son of Lord Paget, created Baron Burton in the county of Stafford; Sir Thomas Mansel, Baron Mansel, of Margam, in the county of Glamorgan; Sir Thomas Willoughby, Baron Middleton, of Middleton, in the county of Warwick; Sir Thomas Trevor, Baron Trevor, of Bromham, in the county of Bedford; George Granville, Baron Lansdown, of Bideford, in the county of Devon; Samuel Masham, Baron Masham, of Oats, in the county of Essex; Thomas Foley, Baron Foley, of Kidderminster, in the county of Worcester, and Allen Bathurst, Baron Bathurst, of Bathelsden, in the county of Bedford. — On the first day of their being introduced, when the question was put about adjourning, the Earl of Wharton asked one of them, “Whether they voted by their foreman?”

The anti-courtiers alledged that the Queen could not send a message to any one House to adjourn, but ought to have directed it to both Houses. This objection produced a debate, which was terminated in favor of the court by the weight of the twelve new peers.

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§ XL. At this period Prince Eugene arrived in England, with a letter to the Queen from the Emperor, and instructions to propose a new scheme for prosecuting the war. His errand was far from being agreeable to the ministry; and they suspected that his real aim was to manage intrigues among the discontented party, who opposed the peace. Nevertheless, he was treated with that respect which was due to his quality and eminent talents. The ministers, the nobility, and officers of distinction visited him at his arrival. He was admitted to an audience of the Queen, who received him with great complacency. Having perused the letter which he delivered, she expressed her concern that her health did not permit her to speak with his Highness as often as she could wish; but that she had ordered the Treasurer and Secretary St. John to receive his proposals, and confer with him as frequently as he should think proper. He expressed extraordinary respect for the Duke of Marlborough, notwithstanding his disgrace. The Lord-Treasurer, while he entertained him at dinner, declared that he looked upon that day as the happiest in the whole course of his life, since he had the honor to see in his house the greatest captain of the age. The Prince is said to have replied,

BOOK I. 1711. “If I am, it is owing to your lordship.” Alluding to the disgrace of Marlborough, whom the Earl’s intrigues had deprived of all military command. When Bishop Burnet conversed with him about the scandalous libels that were every day published against the Duke, and in particular mentioned one paragraph in which the author allowed he had been once fortunate, the Prince observed it was the greatest commendation that could be bestowed upon him, as it implied that all his other successes were owing to his courage and conduct. While the nobility of both parties vied with each other in demonstrations of respect for this noble stranger; while he was adored by the Whigs, and admired by the people, who gazed at him in crowds when he appeared in public; even in the midst of all these caresses, party-riots were excited to insult his person, and some scandalous reflections upon his mother were inserted in one of the public papers. The Queen treated him with distinguished marks of regard; and, on her birth-day, presented him with a sword worth five thousand pounds. Nevertheless, she looked upon him as a patron and friend of that turbulent faction to which she owed so much disquiet. She knew he had been pressed to come over by the Whig-noblemen, who hoped his presence would inflame the people to some desperate attempt upon the new ministry: she was not ignorant that he held private conferences with the Duke of Marlborough, the Earl of Sunderland, the Lord Somers, Hallifax, and all the chiefs of that party; and that he entered into a close connexion with the Baron de Bothmar, the

the Hanoverian envoy, who had been very active in fomenting the disturbances of the people. C H A P.
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§ XLI. Her Majesty, who had been for some time afflicted with the gout, sent a message to both Houses, on the seventeenth day of January, signifying that the plenipotentiaries were arrived at Utrecht; and that she was employed in making preparations for an early campaign: she hoped, therefore, that the Commons would proceed in giving the necessary dispatch to the supplies. The Lord-Treasurer, in order to demonstrate his attachment to the protestant succession, brought in a bill which had been proposed by the Duke of Devonshire, giving precedence to the whole electoral family, as children and nephews of the crown; and, when it was passed into an act, he sent it over to Hanover by Mr. Thomas Harley. The sixteen peers for Scotland were prevailed upon, by promise of satisfaction, to resume their seats in the Upper House, from which they had absented themselves since the decision against the patent of the Duke of Hamilton: but whatever pecuniary recompence they might have obtained from the court, on which they were meanly dependent, they received no satisfaction from the parliament. The Commons finding Mr. Walpole very troublesome in their House, by his talents, activity, and zealous attachment to the Whig-interest, found means to discover some clandestine practices in which he was concerned as secretary at war, with regard to the forage-contract in Scotland. The contractors, rather than admit into their partnership a person whom he had recommended for that purpose,

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chose to present his friend with five hundred pounds. Their bill was addressed to Mr. Walpole, who endorsed it, and his friend touched the money*. This transaction was interpreted into a bribe. Mr. Walpole was voted guilty of corruption, imprisoned in the Tower, and expelled the House. Being afterwards rechosen by the same borough of Lynn-Regis, which he had before represented, a petition was lodged against him, and the Commons voted him incapable of being elected a member to serve in the present parliament.

* The commissioners appointed for taking, stating, and examining the public accounts, having made their report touching the conduct of Mr. Walpole, the House, after a long debate, came to the following resolutions; 1. That Robert Walpole, Esq. a member of this House, in receiving the sum of five hundred guineas, and in taking a note for five hundred more, on account of two contracts for forage of her Majesty's troops, quartered in North-Britain, made by him when secretary at war, pursuant to a power granted to him by the late Lord-Treasurer, is guilty of a high breach of trust and notorious corruption. 2. That the said Robert Walpole, Esq. be for the said offence committed prisoner to the Tower of London, during the pleasure of this House; and that Mr. Speaker do issue his warrant accordingly. 3. That the said Robert Walpole, Esq. be for the said offence also expelled the House, and that the report of the commissioners of public accounts be taken into further consideration that day sennight. — It appeared from the depositions of witnesses that the public had been defrauded considerably by these contracts — a very severe speech was made in the House, and next day published, reflecting upon Mr. Walpole, as guilty of the worst kind of corruption; and Sir Peter King declared in the House, that he deserved hanging as well as he deserved imprisonment and expulsion.

§ XLII. Their next attack was upon the Duke of Marlborough, who was found to have received a yearly sum from Sir Solomon Medina, a Jew, concerned in the contract for furnishing the army with bread; to have been gratified by the Queen with ten thousand pounds a year to defray the expence of intelligence; and to have pocketed a deduction of two and a half per cent. from the pay of the foreign troops maintained by England. It was alledged, in his justification, that the present from the Jews was a customary perquisite; which had always been enjoyed by the general of the Dutch army: that the deduction of two and a half per cent. was granted to him by an express warrant from her Majesty: that all the articles of the charge joined together did not exceed thirty thousand pounds, a sum much inferior to that which had been allowed to King William for contingencies: that the money was expended in procuring intelligence, which was so exact that the Duke was never surpris'd: that none of his parties were ever intercepted or cut off; and all his designs by these means so well concerted, that he never once miscarried. Notwithstanding these representations the majority voted that his practices had been unwarrantable and illegal; and that the deduction was to be accounted for as public money. These resolutions were communicated to the Queen, who ordered the Attorney-General to prosecute the Duke for the money he had deducted by virtue of her own warrant. Such practices were certainly mean and mercenary, and greatly tarnished the glory which the Duke had acquired by his military talents, and other shining qualities.

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§ XLIII. The Commons now directed the stream of their resentment against the Dutch, who had certainly exerted all their endeavours to overwhelm the new ministry, and retard the negotiations for peace. They maintained an intimate correspondence with the Whigs of England. They diffused the most invidious reports against Oxford and Secretary St. John. Buys, their envoy at London, acted the part of an incendiary, in suggesting violent measures to the malecontents, and caballing against the government. The ministers, by way of reprisal, influenced the House of Commons to pass some acrimonious resolutions against the States-General. They alledged that the States had been deficient in their proportion of troops, both in Spain and in the Netherlands, during the whole course of the war; and that the Queen had paid above three millions of crowns in subsidies, above what she was obliged to advance by her engagements. They attacked the barrier-treaty, which had been concluded with the States by Lord Townshend, after the conferences at Gertruydenberg. By this agreement, England guaranteed a barrier in the Netherlands to the Dutch; and the States bound themselves to maintain, with their whole force, the Queen's title, and the protestant succession. The Tories affirmed that England was disgraced by engaging any other state to defend a succession which the nation might see cause to alter: that, by this treaty, the States were authorized to interpose in British councils: that being possessed of all those strong towns, they might exclude the

English from trading to them, and interfere with the manufactures of Great-Britain. The House of Commons voted, That in the barrier-treaty there were several articles destructive to the trade and interest of Great-Britain; and therefore highly dishonorable to her Majesty: That the Lord Viscount Townshend was not authorized to conclude several articles in that treaty: That he and all those who had advised its being ratified were enemies to the Queen and kingdom. All their votes were digested into a long representation presented to the Queen, in which they averred that England, during the war, had been overcharged nineteen millions; a circumstance that implied mismanagement or fraud in the old ministry. The States, alarmed at these resolutions, wrote a respectful letter to the Queen, representing the necessity of a barrier, for the mutual security of England and the United Provinces. They afterwards drew up a large memorial in vindication of their proceedings during the war; and it was published in one of the English papers. The Commons immediately voted it a false, scandalous, and malicious libel, reflecting upon the resolutions of the House; and the printer and publisher were taken into custody, as guilty of a breach of privilege.

§ XLIV. They now repealed the naturalization-act. They passed a bill granting a toleration to the episcopal clergy in Scotland, without paying the least regard to a representation from the general assembly to the Queen, declaring that the act for securing the presbyterian government was an essential

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and fundamental condition of the treaty of union¹. The House, notwithstanding this remonstrance, proceeded with the bill, and inserted a clause prohibiting civil magistrates from executing the sentences of the kirk-judicatories. The episcopal, as well as the presbyterian clergy, were required to take the oath of abjuration, that they might be upon an equal footing in case of disobedience; for the Commons well knew that this condition would be rejected by both, from very different motives. In order to exasperate the presbyterians with further provocations, another act was passed for discontinuing the courts of judicature during the Christmas holidays, which had never been kept by persons of that persuasion. When this bill was read for the third time, Sir David Dalrymple said, "Since the House is resolved to make no toleration on the body of this bill, I acquiesce; and only desire it may be entitled, A bill for establishing jacobitism and immorality." The chagrin of the Scottish presbyterians was completed by a third bill, restoring the right of patronage, which had been taken away when the discipline of the kirk was last established. Prince Eugene having presented a memorial to the Queen, touching the conduct of the Emperor during the war, and containing a proposal with relation to the affairs of Spain, the Queen communicated the scheme to the House of Commons, who treated it with the most contemptuous neglect. The Prince, finding all his efforts

¹ Burnet. Boyer. Lamberty. Quincy. Roussel. Torcy. Tindal, Hist. of the D. of Marlborough. Mil. Hist. Voltaire.

ineffectual, retired to the continent, as much displeased with the ministry, as he had reason to be satisfied with the people of England. The Commons having settled the funds for the supplies of the year, amounting to six millions; the Treasurer formed the plan of a bill appointing commissioners to examine the value and consideration of all the grants made since the Revolution. His design was to make a general resumption: but, as the interest of so many noblemen was concerned, the bill met with a very warm opposition; notwithstanding which, it would have certainly passed, had not the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Strafford absented themselves from the House during the debate.

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§ I. *The conferences opened at Utrecht.* II. *The Queen's measures obstructed by the allies.* III. *Death of the Dauphin and his son.* IV. *The Queen demands Philip's renunciation of the crown of France.* V. *The Duke of Ormond takes the command of the British forces in Flanders.* VI. *He is restricted from acting against the enemy.* VII. *Debate in the House of Lords on this subject.* VIII. *A loyal address of the Commons.* IX. *Philip promises to renounce the crown of France.* X. *The Queen communicates the plan of peace in a speech to both Houses of parliament.* XI. *Exceptions taken to some of the articles, in the House of Lords.* XII. *A motion for a guaranty of the protestant succession by the allies rejected in the House of Commons.* XIII. *The Duke of Ormond declares to Prince Eugene, that he can no longer cover the siege of Quesnoy.* XIV. *Irruption into France by General Grovestein.* XV. *The foreign troops in British pay refuse to march with the Duke of Ormond.* XVI. *Who proclaims a cessation of arms, and seizes Ghent and Bruges.* XVII. *The allies defeated at Denain.* XVIII. *Progress of the conferences at Utrecht.* XIX. *The Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun are killed in a duel. The Duke of Marlborough retires to the continent.* XX. *The States-General sign the barrier-treaty.* XXI. *The other allies become more tractable.* XXII. *The peace with France signed at Utrecht.* XXIII. *Both Houses of parliament congratulate the Queen on the peace.* XXIV. *Substance of the treaty*

with France. XXV. Objections to the treaty of commerce. XXVI. Debates in the House of Lords on the malt-tax for Scotland. The Scottish lords move for a bill to dissolve the Union. XXVII. Address of the Commons about Dunkirk. XXVIII. Violence of parties in England. XXIX. Proceedings of the parliament of Ireland. XXX. New parliament in England. Writers employed by both parties. XXXI. Treaty of Rastadt between the Emperor and France. XXXII. Principal articles in the treaty between Great-Britain and Spain. Meeting of the parliament. XXXIII. The House of Lords takes cognizance of a libel against the Scots. XXXIV. Mr. Steele expelled the House of Commons. XXXV. Precaution by the Whigs for the security of the protestant succession. XXXVI. Debates in the House of Lords concerning the Pretender and the Catalans. XXXVII. They address the Queen to set a price on the head of the Pretender. XXXVIII. A writ demanded for the Electoral Prince of Hanover, as Duke of Cambridge. XXXIX. Death of the Princess Sophia. Bill to prevent the growth of schism. XL. Another against all who should list, or be enlisted in a foreign service. XLI. The parliament prorogued. XLII. The Treasurer disgraced. XLIII. Precautions taken for securing the peace of the kingdom. XLIV. Death and character of Queen Anne.

§ I. **I**N the month of January the conferences for peace began at Utrecht. The Earl of Jersey would have been appointed the plenipotentiary for England,

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but he dying after the correspondence with the court of France was established, the Queen conferred that charge upon Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, Lord Privy-Seal, and the Earl of Strafford. The chief of the Dutch deputies named for the congress, were Buys and Vanderdussen: the French King granted his powers to the Marechal d'Uxelles, the Abbot (afterwards Cardinal) de Polignac, and Menager, who had been in England. The ministers of the Emperor and Savoy likewise assisted at the conferences, to which the empire and the other allies likewise sent their plenipotentiaries, though not without reluctance. As all these powers, except France, entertained sentiments very different from those of her Britannic Majesty, the conferences seemed calculated rather to retard than accelerate a pacification. The Queen of England had foreseen and provided against these difficulties. Her great end was to free her subjects from the miseries attending an unprofitable war, and to restore peace to Europe; and this aim she was resolved to accomplish, in spite of all opposition. She had also determined to procure reasonable terms of accommodation for her allies, without, however, continuing to lavish the blood and treasure of her people in supporting their extravagant demands. The Emperor obstinately insisted upon his claim to the whole Spanish monarchy, refusing to give up the least tittle of his pretensions; and the Dutch adhered to the old preliminaries which Louis had formerly rejected. The Queen saw that the liberties of Europe would be exposed to

much greater danger from an actual union of the Imperial and Spanish crowns in one head of the house of Austria; than from a bare possibility of Spain's being united with France in one branch of the house of Bourbon. She knew by experience the difficulty of dethroning Philip, rooted as he was in the affections of a brave and loyal people; and that a prosecution of this design would serve no purpose but to protract the war, and augment the grievances of the British nation. She was well acquainted with the distresses of the French, which she considered as pledges of their monarch's sincerity. She sought not the total ruin of that people, already reduced to the brink of despair. The dictates of true policy dissuaded her from contributing to her further conquest in that kingdom, which would have proved the source of contention among the allies, depressed the house of Bourbon below that standard of importance which the balance of Europe required it should maintain, and aggrandize the States-General at the expense of Great-Britain. As she had borne the chief burden of the war, she had a right to take the lead; and dictate a plan of pacification: at least, she had a right to consult the welfare of her own kingdom, in delivering, by a separate peace, her subjects from those enormous loads which they could no longer sustain; and she was well enough aware of her own consequence, to think she could not obtain advantageous conditions.

§ II. Such were the sentiments of the Queen; and her ministers seem to have acted on the same

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principles, though, perhaps party-motives may have helped to influence their conduct. The allies concurred in opposing with all their might any treaty which could not gratify their different views of avarice, interest, and ambition. They practised a thousand little artifices to intimidate the Queen, to excite a jealousy of Louis, to blacken the characters of her ministers, to raise and keep up a dangerous ferment among her people, by which her life and government were endangered. She could not fail to resent these efforts, which greatly perplexed her measures, and obstructed her design. Her ministers were sensible of the dangerous predicament in which they stood. The Queen's health was much impaired; and the successor countenanced the opposite faction. In case of their sovereign's death they had nothing to expect but prosecution and ruin for obeying her commands: they saw no hope of safety, except in renouncing their principles, and submitting to their adversaries, or else in taking such measures as would hasten the pacification, that the troubles of the kingdom might be appeased, and the people be satisfied with their conduct before death should deprive them of their sovereign's protection. With this view they advised her to set on foot a private negociation with Louis; to stipulate certain advantages for her own subjects in a concerted plan of peace; to enter into such mutual confidence with that monarch, as would anticipate all clandestine transactions to her prejudice, and in some measure enable her to prescribe terms for her allies. The plan was judiciously formed: but executed with too much

precipitation. The stipulated advantages were not such as she had a right to demand and insist upon; and without all doubt, better might have been obtained, had not the obstinacy of the allies abroad, and the violent conduct of the Whig-faction at home, obliged the ministers to relax in some material points, and hasten the conclusion of the treaty.

§ III. The articles being privately regulated between the two courts of London and Versailles, the English plenipotentiaries at Utrecht were furnished with general powers and instructions, being ignorant of the agreement which the Queen had made with the French monarch, touching the kingdom of Spain, which was indeed the basis of the treaty. This secret plan of negociation, however, had well nigh been destroyed by some unforeseen events that were doubly afflicting to Louis. The Dauphin had died of the small-pox in the course of the preceding year, and his title had been conferred upon his son, the Duke of Burgundy, who now expired on the last day of February, six days after the death of his wife, Mary Adelaide of Savoy. The parents were soon followed to the grave by their eldest offspring, the Duke of Bretagne, in the sixth year of his age; so that of the Duke of Burgundy's children, none remained alive but the Duke of Anjou, the late French king, who was at that time a sickly infant. Such a series of calamities could not fail of being extremely shocking to Louis in his old age; but they were still more alarming to the Queen of England, who saw that nothing but the precarious life of an unhealthy child divided the two monarchies of France

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and Spain, the union of which she resolved by all possible means to prevent. She, therefore, sent the Abbé Gualtier to Paris, with a memorial, representing the danger to which the liberty of Europe would be exposed, should Philip ascend the throne of France; and demanding, that his title should be transferred to his brother, the Duke of Berry, in consequence of his pure, simple, and voluntary renunciation.

§ IV. Mean while the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht were prevailed upon to deliver their proposals in writing, under the name of specific offers, which the allies received with indignation. They were treated in England with universal scorn. Lord Hallifax, in the House of Peers, termed them trifling, arrogant, and injurious to her Majesty and her allies: an address was presented to the Queen, in which they expressed their resentment against the insolence of France, and promised to assist her with all their power in prosecuting the war, until a safe and honorable peace should be obtained. The plenipotentiaries of the allies were not less extravagant in their specific demands than the French had been arrogant in their offers. In a word, the ministers seemed to have been assembled at Utrecht, rather to start new difficulties, and widen the breach, than to heal animosities, and concert a plan of pacification. They amused one another with fruitless conferences, while the Queen of Great-Britain endeavoured to engage the States-General in her measures, that they might treat with France upon moderate terms, and give law to the rest of the allies. She departed from some of her own pretensions, in order to gratify them with

the possession of some towns in Flanders. She consented to their being admitted into a participation of some advantages in commerce; and ordered the English ministers at the congress to tell them, that she would take her measures according to the return they should make on this occasion. Finding them still obstinately attached to their first chimerical preliminaries, she gave them to understand, that all her offers for adjusting the differences were founded upon the express condition, That they should come into her measures, and co-operate with her openly and sincerely: but they had made such bad returns to all her condescension towards them, that she looked upon herself as released from all engagements. The ministers of the allies had insisted upon a written answer to their specific demands; and this the French plenipotentiaries declined, until they should receive fresh instructions from their master. Such was the pretence for suspending the conferences: but the real bar to a final agreement between England and France, was the delay of Philip's renunciation, which at length, however, arrived; and produced a cessation of arms.

§ V. In the meantime the Duke of Ormond, who was now invested with the supreme command of the British forces, received a particular order, that he should not hazard an engagement. Louis had already undertaken for the compliance of his grandson. Reflecting on his own great age, he was shocked at the prospect of leaving his kingdom involved in a pernicious war during a minority; and determined to procure a peace at all events. The Queen,

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knowing his motives, could not help believing his protestations, and resolved to avoid a battle, the issue of which might have considerably altered the situation of affairs, and consequently retarded the conclusion of the treaty. Preparations had been made for an early campaign. In the beginning of March, the Earl of Albemarle, having assembled a body of thirty-six battalions, marched towards Arras, which he reduced to a heap of ashes by a most terrible cannonading and bombardment. In May, the Duke of Ormond conferred with the deputies of the States-General at the Hague, and assured them that he had orders to act vigorously in the prosecution of the war. He joined Prince Eugene at Tournay; and, on the twenty-sixth day of May, the allied army, passing the Schelde, encamped at Haspre and Solemnes. The Imperial general proposed that they should attack the French army under Villars: but by this time the Duke was restrained from hazarding siege or battle: a circumstance well known to the French commander, who therefore abated of his usual vigilance. It could not be long concealed from Prince Eugene and the deputies, who forthwith dispatched an express to their principals on this subject, and afterwards presented a long memorial to the Duke, representing the injury which the grand alliance would sustain from his obedience of such an order. He seemed to be extremely uneasy at his situation; and, in a letter to Secretary St. John, expressed a desire that the Queen would permit him to return to England.

§ VI. Prince Eugene, notwithstanding the Queen's order,

order, which Ormond had not yet formally declared, invested the town of Quesnoy, and the Duke furnished towards this enterprize seven battalions and nine squadrons of the foreign troops maintained by Great Britain. The Dutch deputies at Utrecht expostulating with the Bishop of Bristol upon the Duke's refusing to act against the enemy, that prelate told them, that he had lately received an express with a letter from her Majesty, in which she complained, that as the States-General had not properly answered her advances, they ought not to be surpris'd, if she thought herself at liberty to enter into separate measures, in order to obtain a peace for her own conveniency. When they remonstrated against such conduct, as contradictory to all the alliances subsisting between the Queen and the States-General, the Bishop declared his instructions further imported, that considering the conduct of the States towards her Majesty, she thought herself disengaged from all alliances and engagements with their High-Mightinesses. The States and the ministers of the allies were instantly in commotion. Private measures were concerted with the Elector of Hanover, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and some other princes of the empire, concerning the troops belonging to those powers in the pay of Great-Britain. The States-General wrote a long letter to the Queen, and ordered their envoy at London to deliver it into her own hand. Count Zinzendorf, the Emperor's plenipotentiary, dispatched expresses to his master, to Prince Eugene, and to the Imperial ambassador at London. The

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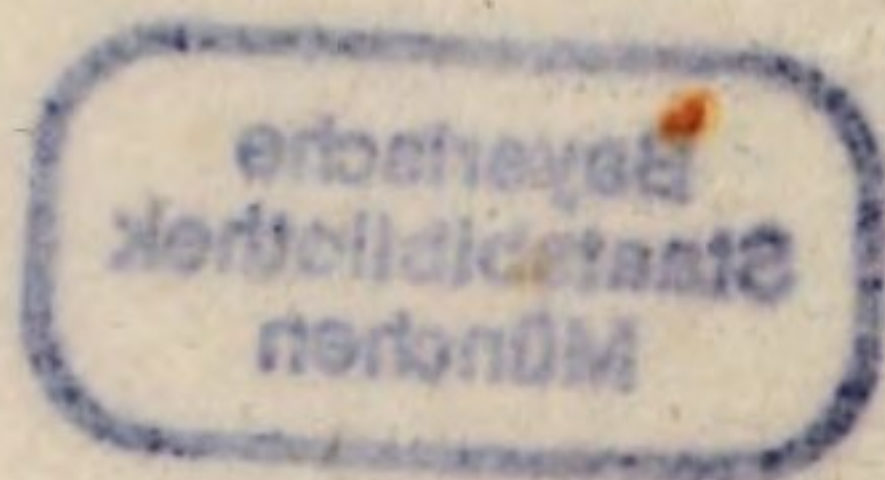
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Queen held a council at Kenfington upon the subject of the letter; and a fresh order was sent to the Duke of Ormond, directing him to concur with the general of the allies in a siege.

§ VII. On the twenty-eighth day of May, Lord Hallifax, in the House of Peers, descanted upon the ill-consequences of the Duke's refusing to co-operate with Prince Eugene; and moved for an address, desiring her Majesty would order the General to act offensively, in concert with her allies. The Treasurer observed it was prudent to avoid a battle on the eve of a peace, especially considering they had to do with an enemy so apt to break his word. The Earl of Wharton replied, this was a strong reason for keeping no measures with such an enemy. When Oxford declared, that the Duke of Ormond had received orders to join the allies in a siege, the Duke of Marlborough affirmed it was impossible to carry on a siege without either hazarding a battle, in case the enemy should attempt to relieve the place, or shamefully abandoning the enterprize. The Duke of Argyle having declared his opinion, that since the time of Julius Cæsar there had not been a greater captain than Prince Eugene of Savoy, observed, that, considering the different interests of the House of Austria and of Great-Britain, it might not consist with prudence to trust him with the management of the war, because a battle won or lost might entirely break off a negociation of peace, which in all probability was near being concluded. He added, that two years before, the confederates might have taken



Arras and Cambray, instead of amusing themselves with the insignificant conquests of Aire, Bethune, and St. Venant. The Duke of Devonshire said he was, by proximity of blood, more concerned than any other in the reputation of the Duke of Ormond; and, therefore, could not help expressing his surprise, that any one would dare to make a nobleman of the first rank, and of so distinguished a character, the instrument of such proceedings. Earl Paulet answered, that nobody could doubt the Duke of Ormond's courage; but he was not like a certain general, who led troops to the slaughter, to cause a great number of officers to be knocked on the head, that he might fill his pockets by disposing of their commissions. The Duke of Marlborough was so deeply affected by this reflection, that though he suppressed his resentment in the House, he took the first opportunity to send Lord Mohun to the Earl with a message, importing, that he should be glad to come to an explanation with his lordship, about some expressions he had used in that day's debate; and desiring his company to take the air in the country. The Earl understood his meaning; but could not conceal his emotion from the observation of his lady, by whose means the affair was communicated to the Earl of Dartmouth, secretary of state. Two sentinels were immediately placed at his lordship's gate: the Queen, by the canal of Lord Dartmouth, desired the Duke of Marlborough would proceed no farther in the quarrel; and he assured her he would punctually obey her Majesty's commands. The Earl of Oxford assured the House, that a separate

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peace was never intended; that such a peace would be so base, so knavish, and so villanous, that every one who served the Queen knew they must answer it with their heads to the nation; but that it would appear to be a safe and glorious peace, much more to the honor and interest of the nation than the first preliminaries insisted upon by the allies. The question being put for adjourning was, after a long debate, carried in the affirmative; but twenty lords entered a protest. The Earl of Strafford, who had returned from Holland, proposed, that they should examine the negociations of the Hague and Gertruydenberg, before they considered that of Utrecht. He observed, that in the former negociations the French ministers had conferred only with the Pensionary, who communicated no more of it to the ministers of the allies than what was judged proper to let them know: so that the Dutch were absolute masters of the secret. He asserted, that the States-General had consented to give Naples and Sicily to King Philip: a circumstance which proved that the recovery of the whole Spanish monarchy was looked upon as impracticable. He concluded with a motion for an address to her Majesty, desiring that the papers relating to the negociations of the Hague and Gertruydenberg should be laid before the House. This was carried without a division.

§ VIII. In the House of Commons, Mr. Pulteney moved for an address, acquainting her Majesty, that her faithful Commons were justly alarmed at the intelligence received from abroad, that her general in Flanders had declined acting offensively against

France, in concurrence with her allies; and beseeching her Majesty, that he might receive speedy instructions to prosecute the war with the utmost vigor. This motion was rejected by a great majority. A certain member having insinuated, that the present negociation had been carried on in a clandestine and treacherous manner, Mr. Secretary St. John said, he hoped it would not be accounted treachery to act for the good and advantage of Great-Britain: that he gloried in the small share he had in the transaction; and whatever censure he might undergo for it, the bare satisfaction of acting in that view would be a sufficient recompence and comfort to him during the whole course of his life. The House resolved, That the Commons had an entire confidence in her Majesty's promise, to communicate to her parliament the terms of the peace before it should be concluded; and, That they would support her against all such persons, either at home or abroad, as should endeavour to obstruct the pacification. The Queen thanked them heartily for this resolution, as being dutiful to her, honest to their country, and very seasonable at a time when so many artifices were used to obstruct a good peace, or to force one disadvantageous to Britain. They likewise presented an address, desiring they might have an account of the negociations and transactions at the Hague and Gertruydenberg, and know who were then employed as her Majesty's plenipotentiaries.

§ IX. The ministry, foreseeing that Philip would not willingly resign his hopes of succeeding to the crown of France, proposed an alternative, that, in

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case of his preferring his expectation of the crown of France to the present possession of Spain, this kingdom, with the Indies, should be forthwith ceded to the Duke of Savoy; that Philip, in the mean time, should possess the Duke's hereditary dominions, and the kingdom of Sicily, together with Montferrat and Mantua; all which territories should be annexed to France at Philip's succession to that crown, except Sicily, which should revert to the House of Austria. Louis seemed to relish this expedient, which, however, was rejected by Philip, who chose to make the renunciation, rather than quit the throne upon which he was established. The Queen demanded, that the renunciation should be ratified in the most solemn manner by the states of France; but she afterwards waved this demand, in consideration of its being registered in the different parliaments. Such forms are but slender securities against the power, ambition, and interest of princes. The Marquis de Torcy frankly owned, that Philip's renunciation was of itself void, as being contrary to the fundamental laws and constitution of the French monarchy; but it was found necessary for the satisfaction of the English people. Every material article being now adjusted between the two courts, particularly those relating to the King of Spain, the commerce of Great-Britain, and the delivering of Dunkirk, a suspension of arms prevailed in the Netherlands, and the Duke of Ormond acted in concert with Mareschal de Villars.

§ X. On the sixth day of June the Queen going to the House of Peers, communicated the plan of peace to her parliament, according to the promise she

had made. After having premised, that the making peace and war was the undoubted prerogative of the crown, and hinted at the difficulties which had arisen both from the nature of the affair, and numberless obstructions contrived by the enemies of peace, she proceeded to enumerate the chief articles to which both crowns had agreed, without, however, concluding the treaty. She told them she had secured the protestant succession, which France had acknowledged in the strongest terms; and that the Pretender would be removed from the French dominions; that the Duke of Anjou should renounce for himself and his descendants all claim to the crown of France; so that the two monarchies would be for ever divided. She observed, that the nature of this proposal was such as would execute itself: that it would be the interest of Spain to support the renunciation; and in France, the persons entitled to the succession of that crown upon the death of the Dauphin were powerful enough to vindicate their own right. She gave them to understand, that a treaty of commerce between England and France had been begun, though not yet adjusted; but provision was made, that England should enjoy the same privileges that France granted to the most favored nation: that the French King had agreed to make an absolute cession of the island of St. Christopher's, which had hitherto been divided between the two nations: that he had also consented to restore the whole bay and straits of Hudson; to deliver the island of Newfoundland, with Placentia; to cede Annapolis, with the rest of Acadia or Nova - Scotia; to demolish the

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fortifications of Dunkirk; to leave England in possession of Gibraltar, Port-Mahon, and the whole island of Minorca; to let the trade of Spain in the West-Indies be settled as it was in the reign of his late Catholic Majesty: she signified that she had obtained for her subjects the *asiento*, or contract for furnishing the Spanish West-Indies with negroes, for the term of thirty years, in the same manner as it had been enjoyed by the French. With respect to the allies, she declared, that France offered to make the Rhine the barrier of the empire: to yield Brisac, Fort Kehl, and Landau, and rase all the fortresses both on the other side of the Rhine, and in the islands of that river: that the protestant interest in Germany would be resettled on the footing of the treaty of Westphalia; that the Spanish Netherlands, the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, the duchy of Milan, and the places belonging to Spain on the coast of Tuscany might be yielded to his Imperial Majesty; but the disposition of Sicily was not yet determined: that the demands of the States-General with relation to commerce, and the barrier in the Low-Countries, would be granted with a few exceptions, which might be compensated by other expedients: that no great progress had yet been made upon the pretensions of Portugal; but that those of Prussia would be admitted by France without much difficulty: that the difference between the barrier demanded by the Duke of Savoy in the year one thousand seven hundred and nine, and that which France now offered, was very

inconsiderable; that the Elector Palatine should maintain his present rank among the Electors: and that France would acknowledge the electoral dignity in the house of Hanover. Such were the conditions which the Queen hoped would make some amends to her subjects for the great and unequal burden they had borne during the whole course of the war. She concluded with saying, she made no doubt they were fully persuaded, that nothing would be neglected on her part, in the progress of this negociation, to bring the peace to a happy and speedy issue; and she expressed her dependence upon the entire confidence and chearful concurrence of her parliament.

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§ XI. An address of thanks and approbation was immediately voted, drawn up, and presented to the Queen by the Commons in a body. When the House of Lords took the speech into consideration, the Duke of Marlborough asserted, that the measures pursued for a year past were directly contrary to her Majesty's engagements with the allies: that they sullied the triumphs and glories of her reign; and would render the English name odious to all nations. The Earl of Strafford said, that some of the allies would not have shown such backwardness to a peace, had they not been persuaded and encouraged to carry on the war by a member of that illustrious assembly, who maintained a secret correspondence with them, and fed them with hopes that they would be supported by a strong party in England. In answer to this insinuation against Marlborough, Lord Cowper observed, that it could never be

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suggested as a crime in the meanest subject, much less in any member of that august assembly, to hold correspondence with the allies of the nation: such allies, especially, whose interest her Majesty had declared to be inseparable from her own, in her speech at the opening of the session; whereas it would be a hard matter to justify and reconcile either with our laws, or with the laws of honor and justice, the conduct of some persons, in treating clandestinely with the common enemy, without the participation of the allies. This was a frivolous argument. A correspondence with any persons whatsoever becomes criminal, when it tends to foment the divisions of one's country, and arm the people against their sovereign. If England had it not in her power, without infringing the laws of justice and honor, to withdraw herself from a confederacy which she could no longer support, and treat for peace on her own bottom, then was she not an associate but a slave to the alliance. The Earl of Godolphin affirmed, that the trade to Spain was such a trifle as deserved no consideration; and that it would continually diminish, until it should be entirely engrossed by the French merchants. Notwithstanding these remonstrances against the plan of peace, the majority agreed to an address, in which they thanked the Queen for her extraordinary condescension in communicating those conditions to her parliament; and expressed an entire satisfaction with her conduct. A motion was made for a clause in the address, desiring her Majesty would take such measures, in concert with her allies, as might induce

them to join with her in a mutual guarantee. A debate ensued : the question was put , and the clause rejected. Several noblemen entered a protest, which was expunged from the journals of the House by the decision of the majority.

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§ XII. In the House of Commons , a complaint was exhibited against Bishop Fleetwood , who , in a preface to four sermons which he had published , took occasion to extol the last ministry , at the expense of the present administration. This piece was voted malicious and factious , tending to create discord and sedition amongst her Majesty's subjects , and condemned to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. They presented an address to the Queen , assuring her of the just sense they had of the indignity offered to her , by printing and publishing a letter from the States-General to her Majesty ; and desiring she would so far resent such insults , as to give no answer for the future to any letters or memorials that should be thus ushered into the world , as inflammatory appeals to the public. Mr. Hampden moved for an address to her Majesty , that she would give particular instructions to her plenipotentiaries , that in the conclusion of the treaty of peace , the several powers in alliance with her Majesty might be guarantees for the protestant succession in the illustrious house of Hanover. The question being put , was carried in the negative. Then the House resolved, That they had such confidence in the repeated declarations her Majesty had made of her concern for assuring to these kingdoms the protestant succession as by law established,

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that they could never doubt of her taking the proper measures for the security thereof: that the House would support her against faction at home and her enemies abroad; and did humbly beseech her, that she would be pleased to discountenance all those who should endeavour to raise jealousies between her Majesty and her subjects, especially by misrepresenting her good intentions for the welfare of her people. The Queen was extremely pleased with this resolution. When it was presented, she told them, that they had shown themselves honest assertors of the monarchy, zealous defenders of the constitution, and real friends to the protestant succession. She thought she had very little reason to countenance a compliment of supererogation to a prince who had caballed with the enemies of her administration. On the twenty-first day of June the Queen closed the session with a speech, expressing her satisfaction at the addresses and supplies she had received: she observed, that should the treaty be broke off, their burdens would be at least continued, if not increased: that Britain would lose the present opportunity of improving her own commerce, and establishing a real balance of power in Europe; and that though some of the allies might be gainers by a continuance of the war, the rest would suffer in the common calamity. Notwithstanding the ferment of the people, which was now risen to a very dangerous pitch, addresses, approving the Queen's conduct, were presented by the city of London, and all the corporations in the kingdom that espoused the Tory-interest. At this juncture the nation was so

wholly possessed by the spirit of party, that no appearance of neutrality or moderation remained.

§ XIII. During these transactions the trenches were opened before Quesnoy, and the siege carried on with uncommon vigor under cover of the forces commanded by the Duke of Ormond. This nobleman, however, having received a copy of the articles, signed by the Marquis de Torcy, and fresh instructions from the Queen, signified to Prince Eugene and the Dutch deputies, that the French King had agreed to several articles demanded by the Queen, as the foundation of an armistice; and among others, to put the English troops in immediate possession of Dunkirk: that he could, therefore, no longer cover the siege of Quesnoy, as he was obliged by his instructions to march with the British troops, and those in the Queen's pay, and declare a suspension of arms as soon as he should be possessed of Dunkirk. He expressed his hope, that they would readily acquiesce in these instructions, seeing their concurrence would act as the most powerful motive to induce the Queen to take all possible care of their interests at the congress; and he endeavoured to demonstrate, that Dunkirk, as a cautionary town, was a place of greater consequence to the allies than Quesnoy. The deputies desired he would delay his march five days, that they might have time to consult their principals, and he granted three days without hesitation. Prince Eugene observed, that his marching off with the British troops, and the foreigners in the Queen's pay, would leave the allies at the mercy of the enemy: but he hoped these last would not obey the

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Duke's order. He and the deputies had already tampered with their commanding officers, who absolutely refused to obey the Duke of Ormond, alledging, that they could not separate from the confederacy without exprefs directions from their masters, to whom they had dispatched couriers. An extraordinary assembly of the States was immediately summoned to meet at the Hague. The ministers of the allies were invited to the conferences. At length, the princes whose troops were in the pay of Britain assured them, that they would maintain them under the command of Prince Eugene for one month at their own expence, and afterwards sustain half the charge, provided the other half should be defrayed by the Emperor and States-General.

§ XIV. The Bishop of Bristol imparted to the other plenipotentiaries at Utrecht the concessions which France would make to the allies; and proposed a suspension of arms for two months, that they might treat in a friendly manner, and adjust the demands of all the confederates. To this proposal they made no other answer, but that they had no instructions on the subject. Count Zinzendorf, the first Imperial plenipotentiary, presented a memorial to the States-General, explaining the danger that would result to the common cause from a cessation of arms; and exhorting them to persevere in their generous and vigorous resolutions. He proposed a renewal of the alliance for recovering the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, and a certain plan for prosecuting the war with redoubled ardor. Prince Eugene, in order to dazzle the

confederates with some bold enterprize, detached Major-General Grovestein, with fifteen hundred cavalry, to penetrate into the heart of France. This officer, about the middle of June, advanced into Champagne, passed the Noire, the Maese, the Moselle, and the Saar, and retired to Traerbach with a rich booty, and a great number of hostages, after having extorted contributions as far as the gates of Metz, ravaged the country, and reduced a great number of villages and towns to ashes. The consternation produced by this irruption reached the city of Paris: the King of France did not think himself safe at Versailles with his ordinary guards: all the troops in the neighbourhood of the capital were assembled about the palace. Villars sent a detachment after Grovestein, as soon as he understood his destination: but the other had gained a day's march of the French troops, which had the mortification to follow him so close, that they found the flames still burning in the villages he had destroyed. By way of retaliation, Major-General Pasteur, a French partisan, made an excursion beyond Bergen-op-zoom, and ravaged the island of Tortole belonging to Zealand.

§ XV. The Earl of Strafford having returned to Holland, proposed a cessation of arms to the States-General, by whom it was rejected. Then he proceeded to the army of the Duke of Ormond, where he arrived in a few days after the reduction of Quesnoy, the garrison of which were made prisoners of war on the fourth day of July. The officers of the foreign troops had a second time refused to obey a written order of the Duke; and such a spirit of animosity

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began to prevail between the English and allies, that it was absolutely necessary to effect a speedy separation. Prince Eugene resolved to undertake the siege of Landrecy: a design is said to have been formed by the German generals to confine the Duke, on pretence of the arrears that were due to them; and to disarm the British troops, lest they should join the French army. In the meantime, a literary correspondence was maintained between the English general and the Marechal de Villars. France having consented to deliver up Dunkirk, a body of troops was transported from England, under the command of Brigadier Hill, who took possession of the place on the seventh day of July, the French garrison retired to Wincoxberg. On the sixteenth of the same month Prince Eugene marched from his camp at Haspre, and was followed by all the auxiliaries in the British pay, except a few battalions of the troops of Holstein-Gottorp, and Walef's regiment of dragoons belonging to the state of Liege.

§ XVI. Landrecy was immediately invested, while the Duke of Ormond, with the English forces, removed from Chateau-Cambresis, and encamping at Avesne-le-Secq, proclaimed by sound of trumpet a cessation of arms for two months. On the same day the like armistice was declared in the French army. The Dutch were so exasperated at the secession of the English troops, that the governors would not allow the Earl of Strafford to enter Bouchaine, nor the British army to pass through Douay, though in that town they had left a great quantity of stores, together with their general hospital. Prince Eugene
and

and the Dutch deputies, understanding that the Duke of Ormond had begun his march towards Ghent, began to be in pain for that city, and sent Count Nassau Woudenburgh to him with a written apology, condemning and disavowing the conduct of the commandants of Bouchain and Douay; but, notwithstanding these excuses, the English troops afterwards met with the same treatment at Tournay, Oudenarde, and Lisle: insults which were resented by the whole British nation. The Duke, however, pursued his march, and took possession of Ghent and Bruges for the Queen of England: then he re-enforced the garrison of Dunkirk, which he likewise supplied with artillery and ammunition. His conduct was no less agreeable to his sovereign, than mortifying to the Dutch, who never dreamed of leaving Ghent and Bruges in the hands of the English, and were now fairly outwitted, and anticipated by the motions and expedition of the British general.

§ XVII. The loss of the British forces was soon severely felt in the allied army. Villars attacked a separate body of their troops encamped at Denain, under the command of the Earl of Albemarle. Their intrenchments were forced, and seventeen battalions either killed or taken. The Earl himself and all the surviving officers were made prisoners. Five hundred waggons loaded with bread, twelve pieces of brass cannon, a large quantity of ammunition and provisions, a great number of horses, and a considerable booty fell into the hands of the enemy: this advantage they gained in fight of Prince Eugene, who advanced on the other side of the Schelde to

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sustain Albemarle ; but the bridge over that river was broke down by accident ; so that he was prevented from lending the least assistance. Villars immediately invested Marchiennes , where the principal stores of the allies were lodged. The place was surrendered on the last day of July : and the garrison , consisting of five thousand men , were conducted prisoners to Valenciennes. He afterwards undertook the siege of Douay ; an enterprize , in consequence of which Prince Eugene abandoned his design on Landrecy , and marched towards the French , in order to hazard an engagement. The States , however , would not run the risque ; and the Prince had the mortification to see Douay reduced by the enemy. He could not even prevent their retaking Quesnoy and Bouchain , of which places they were in possession before the tenth day of October. The allies enjoyed no other compensation for their great losses , but the conquest of Fort Knocque , which was surpris'd by one of their partisans.

§ XVIII. The British ministers at the congress continued to press the Dutch and other allies to join in the armistice : but they were deaf to the proposal , and concerted measures for a vigorous prosecution of the war. Then the Earl of Strafford insisted upon their admitting to the congress the plenipotentiaries of King Philip : but he found them equally averse to this expedient. In the beginning of August , Secretary St. John , now created Lord Viscount Bolingbroke , was sent to the court of Versailles incognito , to remove all obstructions to the treaty between England and France. He was accompanied

by Mr. Prior and the Abbé Gualtier, treated with the most distinguished marks of respect, caressed by the French King and the Marquis de Torcy, with whom he adjusted the principal interests of the Duke of Savoy and the Elector of Bavaria. He settled the time and manner of the renunciations, and agreed to a suspension of arms by sea and land for four months between the crowns of France and England: this was accordingly proclaimed at Paris and London. The negociation being finished in a few days, Bolingbroke returned to England, and Prior remained as resident at the court of France. The States - General breathed nothing but war: the Pensionary Heinsius pronounced an oration in their assembly, representing the impossibility of concluding a peace without losing the fruits of all the blood and treasure they had expended. The conferences at Utrecht were interrupted by a quarrel between the domestics of Menager, and those of the Count de Rechteren, one of the Dutch plenipotentiaries. The populace insulted the Earl of Strafford and the Marquis del Borgo, minister of Savoy, whose master was reported to have agreed to the armistice. These obstructions being removed, the conferences were renewed, and the British plenipotentiaries exerted all their rhetoric, both in public and private, to engage the allies in the Queen's measures. At length the Duke of Savoy was prevailed upon to acquiesce in the offers of France. Mr. Thomas Harley had been sent ambassador to Hanover, with a view to persuade the Elector that it would be for his interest to co-operate with her Majesty;

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“ Whenever it shall please God (said he) to call me
 “ to the throne of Britain, I hope to act as becomes
 “ me for the advantage of my people: in the mean
 “ time, speak to me as to a German prince, and
 “ a prince of the empire.” Nor was she more successful in her endeavours to bring over the King of Prussia to her sentiments. In the mean time, Lord Lexington was appointed ambassador to Madrid, where King Philip solemnly swore to observe the renunciation, which was approved and confirmed by the Cortes. The like renunciation to the crown of Spain was afterwards made by the princes of France; and Philip was declared incapable of succeeding to the crown of that realm. The court of Portugal held out against the remonstrances of England, until the Marquis de Bay invaded that kingdom at the head of twenty thousand men, and undertook the siege of Campo-Major, and they found they had no longer any hope of being assisted by her Britannic Majesty. The Portuguese minister at Utrecht signed the suspension of arms on the seventh day of November, and excused this step to the allies, as the pure effect of necessity. The English troops in Spain were ordered to separate from the army of Count Staremberg, and march to the neighbourhood of Barcelona, where they were embarked on board an English squadron, commanded by Sir John Jennings, and transported to Minorca.

§ XIX. The campaign being at an end in the Netherlands, the Duke of Ormond returned to England, where the party-disputes were become more violent than ever. The Whigs affected to celebrate

the anniversary of the late King's birth-day, in London, with extraordinary rejoicings. Mobs were hired by both factions; and the whole city was filled with riot and uproar. A ridiculous scheme was contrived to frighten the Lord-Treasurer with some squibs in a band-box, which the ministers magnified into a conspiracy. The Duke of Hamilton having been appointed ambassador extraordinary to the court of France, the Whigs were alarmed, on the supposition that this nobleman favored the Pretender. Some dispute arising between the Duke and Lord Mohun, on the subject of a law-suit, furnished a pretence for a quarrel. Mohun, who had been twice tried for murder, and was counted a mean tool, as well as the Hector of the Whig-party, sent a message by General Macartney to the Duke, challenging him to single combat. The principals met by appointment in Hyde-Park, attended by Macartney and Colonel Hamilton. They fought with such fury, that Mohun was killed upon the spot, and the Duke expired before he could be conveyed to his own house. Macartney disappeared, and escaped in disguise to the continent. Colonel Hamilton declared upon oath before the privy council, that when the principals engaged, he and Macartney followed their example: that Macartney was immediately disarmed; but the Colonel seeing the Duke fall upon his antagonist, threw away the swords, and ran to lift him up: that while he was employed in raising the Duke, Macartney, having taken up one of the swords, stabbed his grace over Hamilton's shoulder, and retired immediately. A

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proclamation was issued, promising a reward of five hundred pounds to those who should apprehend or discover Macartney, and the Dukes of Hamilton offered three hundred pounds for the same purpose. The Tories exclaimed against this event as a party-duel: they treated Macartney as a cowardly assassin, and affirmed that the Whigs had posted others of the same stamp all round Hyde-Park, to murder the Duke of Hamilton, in case he had triumphed over his antagonist, and escaped the treachery of Macartney. The Whigs, on the other hand, affirmed, that it was altogether a private quarrel: that Macartney was entirely innocent of the perfidy laid to his charge: that he afterwards submitted to a fair trial, at which Colonel Hamilton prevaricated in giving his evidence, and was contradicted by the testimony of divers persons who saw the combat at a distance. The Duke of Marlborough, hearing himself accused as the author of those party-mischiefs, and seeing his enemies grow every day more and more implacable, thought proper to retire to the continent, where he was followed by his dukes. His friend Godolphin had died in September, with the general character of an able, cool, dispassionate minister, who had rendered himself necessary to four successive sovereigns, and managed the finances with equal skill and integrity. The Duke of Shrewsbury was nominated ambassador to France, in the room of the Duke of Hamilton: the Duke d'Aumont arrived at London in the same quality from the court of Versailles; and about the same time the Queen granted an audience to the Marquis de Monteleone,

whom Philip had appointed one of his plenipoten- **C H A P.**
tiaries at the congress. **XI.**

§ XX. In vain had the British ministers in Holland endeavoured to overcome the obstinacy of the States-General, by alternate threats, promises, and arguments. In vain did they represent, that the confederacy against France could be no longer supported with any prospect of success: that the Queen's aim had been to procure reasonable terms for her allies; but that their opposition to her measures prevented her from obtaining such conditions as she would have a right to demand in their favor, were they unanimous in their consultations. In November, the Earl of Strafford presented a new plan of peace, in which the Queen promised to insist upon France's ceding to the States the city of Tournay, and some other places which they could not expect to possess, should she conclude a separate treaty. They now began to waver in their councils. The first transports of their resentment having subsided, they plainly perceived that the continuation of the war would entail upon them a burden which they could not bear, especially since the Duke of Savoy and the King of Portugal had deserted the alliance: besides, they were staggered by the offer of the new barrier, so much more advantageous than that which France had proposed in the beginning of the conferences. They were influenced by another motive: namely, the apprehension of new mischiefs to the empire from the King of Sweden, whose affairs seemed to take a favorable turn at the Ottoman Porte, through the intercession of

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the French monarch. The Czar and King Augustus had penetrated into Pomerania: the King of Denmark had taken Staden, reduced Bremen, and laid Hamburg under contribution; but Count Steenbock, the Swedish general, defeated the Danish army in Mecklenburgh, ravaged Holstein with great barbarity, and reduced the town of Altena to ashes. The Grand Signor threatened to declare war against the Czar, on pretence that he had not performed some essential articles of the late peace; but his real motive was an inclination to support the King of Sweden. This disposition, however, was defeated by a powerful party at the Porte, who were averse to war. Charles, who still remained at Bender, was desired to return to his own kingdom, and given to understand, that the Sultan would procure him a safe passage. He treated the person who brought this intimation with the most outrageous insolence; rejected the proposal; fortified his house; and resolved to defend himself to the last extremity. Being attacked by a considerable body of Turkish forces, he and his attendants fought with the most frantic valor. They slew some hundreds of the assailants; but at last the Turks set fire to the House: so that he was obliged to surrender himself and his followers, who were generally sold for slaves. He himself was conveyed under a strong guard to Adrianople. Mean while the Czar landed with an army in Finland, which he totally reduced. Steenbock maintained himself in Tonnigen until all his supplies were cut off; and then he was obliged to deliver himself and his troops

prisoners of war. But this reverse was not foreseen when the Dutch dreaded a rupture between the Porte and the Muscovites, and were given to understand that the Turks would revive the troubles in Hungary. In that case, they knew the Emperor would recal great part of his troops from the Netherlands, where the burden of the war must lie upon their shoulders. After various consultations in their different assemblies, they came into the Queen's measures, and signed the barrier-treaty.

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§ XXI. Then the plenipotentiaries of the four associated circles presented a remonstrance to the British ministers at Utrecht, imploring the Queen's interposition in their favor, that they might not be left in the miserable condition to which they had been reduced by former treaties. They were given to understand, that if they should not obtain what they desired, they themselves would be justly blamed as the authors of their own disappointment: that they had been deficient in furnishing their proportion of troops and other necessaries; and left the whole burden of the war to fall upon the Queen and the States in the Netherlands: that when a cessation was judged necessary, they had deserted her Majesty to follow the chimerical projects of Prince Eugene: that while she prosecuted the war with the utmost vigor, they had acted with coldness and indifference; but when she inclined to peace they began to exert themselves, in prosecuting hostilities with uncommon eagerness: that, nevertheless, she would not abandon their interests, but endeavour to procure for them as good conditions as

B O O K their preposterous conduct would allow her to
I. demand. Even the Emperor's plenipotentiaries
1712. began to talk in more moderate terms. Zinzendorf declared that his master was very well disposed to promote a general peace ; and no longer insisted on a cession of the Spanish monarchy to the House of Austria. Philip's ministers, together with those of Bavaria and Cologne, were admitted to the congress ; and now the plenipotentiaries of Britain acted as mediators for the rest of the allies.

§ XXII. The pacification between France and England was retarded, however, by some unforeseen difficulties that arose in adjusting the commerce and the limits of the countries possessed by both nations in North-America. A long dispute ensued ; and the Duke of Shrewsbury and Prior held many conferences with the French ministry : at length it was compromised, though not much to the advantage of Great-Britain ; and the English plenipotentiaries received an order to sign a separate treaty. They declared to the ministers of the other powers, that they and some other plenipotentiaries were ready to sign their respective treaties on the eleventh day of April. Count Zinzendorf endeavoured to postpone this transaction until he should be furnished with fresh instructions from Vienna ; and even threatened that if the States should sign the peace contrary to his desire, the Emperor would immediately withdraw his troops from the Netherlands¹. The ministers of Great-Britain agreed with those

¹ Burnet. Boyer. Hare. Lamberty. Quincy. Rouffet. Torcy. Bolingbroke. Voltaire. Tindal. Mil. Hist. Hist. of the D. of Marlborough.

of France, that his Imperial Majesty should have time to consider whether he would or would not accept the proposals: but this time was extended no farther than the first day of June; nor would they agree to a cessation of arms during that interval. Mean while the peace with France was signed in different treaties by the plenipotentiaries of Great-Britain, Savoy, Prussia, Portugal, and the States-General. On the fourteenth day of the month, the British plenipotentiaries delivered to Count Zinzendorf, in writing, “offers and demands of the French king for making peace with the House of Austria and the empire.” The Count and the ministers of the German princes exclaimed against the insolence of France, which had not even bestowed the title of Emperor on Joseph; but wanted to impose terms upon them with relation to the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria.

§ XXIII. The treaties of peace and commerce between England and France being ratified by the Queen of England, the parliament was assembled on the ninth day of April. The Queen told them the treaty was signed, and that in a few days the ratifications would be exchanged. She said, what she had done for the protestant succession, and the perfect friendship subsisting between her and the House of Hanover, would convince those who wished well to both, and desired the quiet and safety of their country, how vain all attempts were to divide them. She left it entirely to the House of Commons to determine what force might be necessary for the security of trade by sea, and for guards and

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garrisons. "Make yourselves safe (said she) and I shall be satisfied. Next to the protection of the divine providence, I depend upon the loyalty and affection of my people. I want no other guarantee." She recommended to their protection those brave men who had exposed their lives in the service of their country, and could not be employed in time of peace. She desired they would concert proper measures for easing the foreign trade of the kingdom, for improving and encouraging manufactures and the fishery; and for employing the hands of idle people. She expressed her displeasure at the scandalous and seditious libels which had been lately published. She exhorted them to consider of new laws to prevent this licentiousness, as well as for putting a stop to the impious practice of duelling. She conjured them to use their utmost endeavours to calm the minds of men at home, that the arts of peace might be cultivated; and that groundless jealousies contrived by a faction, and fomented by party-rage, might not effect that which their foreign enemies could not accomplish. This was the language of a pious, candid, and benevolent sovereign, who had loved her subjects with a truly parental affection. The parliament considered her in that light. Each House presented her with a warm address of thanks and congratulation, expressing, in particular, their inviolable attachment to the protestant succession in the illustrious house of Hanover. The ratifications of the treaty being exchanged, the peace was proclaimed on the fifth of May, with the usual ceremonies, to the inexpressible joy of the nation in general: it was about this period that the

Chevalier de St. George conveyed a printed remonstrance to the ministers at Utrecht, solemnly protesting against all that might be stipulated to his prejudice. The Commons, in a second address, had besought her Majesty to communicate to the House in due time the treaties of peace and commerce with France; and now they were produced by Mr. Benson, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

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§ XXIV. By the treaty of peace the French King obliged himself to abandon the Pretender, and acknowledge the Queen's title and the protestant succession; to rase the fortifications of Dunkirk within a limited time, on condition of receiving an equivalent; to cede Newfoundland, Hudson's-Bay, and St. Christopher's to England; but, the French were left in possession of Cape-Breton, and at liberty to dry fish on Newfoundland. By the treaty of commerce a free trade was established, according to the tariff of the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-four, except in some commodities that were subjected to new regulations in the year sixteen hundred and ninety-nine. It was agreed, That no other duties should be imposed on the productions of France imported into England than those that were laid on the same commodities from other countries; and That commissaries should meet at London, to adjust all matters relating to commerce: as for the tariff with Spain, it was not yet finished. It was stipulated, That the Emperor should possess the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands: That the Duke of Savoy should enjoy Sicily, with the title of King: That the same title,

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with the island of Sardinia, should be allotted to the Elector of Bavaria, as an indemnification for his losses: That the States-General should restore Lisle and its dependencies: That Namur, Charleroy, Luxemburgh, Ypres, and Nieuport should be added to the other places they already possessed in Flanders; and That the King of Prussia should have Upper-Gueldres, in lieu of Orange and the other estates belonging to that family in Franche-Comté. The King of Portugal was satisfied; and the first day of June was fixed as the period of time granted to the Emperor for consideration.

§ XXV. A day being appointed by the Commons to deliberate upon the treaty of commerce, very just and weighty objections were made to the eight and ninth articles, importing, That Great-Britain and France should mutually enjoy all the privileges in trading with each other that either granted to the most favored nation; and that no higher customs should be exacted from the commodities of France, than those that were drawn from the same productions of any other people. The balance of trade having long inclined to the side of France, severe duties had been laid on all the productions and manufactures of that kingdom, so as almost to amount to a total prohibition. Some members observed, that, by the treaty between England and Portugal, the duties charged upon the wines of that country were lower than those laid upon the wines of France: that should they now be reduced to an equality, the difference of freight was so great, that the French wines would be found much cheaper than those of

Portugal; and, as they were more agreeable to the taste of the nation in general, there would be no market for the Portuguese wines in England: that should this be the case, the English would lose their trade with Portugal, the most advantageous of any traffic which they now carried on: for it consumed a great quantity of their manufactures, and returned a yearly sum of six hundred thousand pounds in gold. Mr. Nathaniel Gould, formerly governor of the Bank, affirmed, that as France had, since the Revolution, encouraged woollen manufactures, and prepared at home several commodities which formerly they drew from England; so the English had learned to make silk-stuffs, paper, and all manner of toys formerly imported from France: by which means, an infinite number of artificers was employed, and a vast sum annually saved to the nation: but these people would now be reduced to beggary, and that money lost again to the kingdom, should French commodities of the same kind be imported under ordinary duties, because labor was much cheaper in France than in England, consequently the British manufactures would be underfold and ruined. He urged, that the ruin of the silk manufacture would be attended with another disadvantage. Great quantities of woollen cloths were vended in Italy and Turkey, in consequence of the raw silk which the English merchants bought up in those countries; and, should the silk manufacture at home be lost, those markets for British commodities would fail of course. Others alledged, that if the articles of commerce had been settled before the English troops

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I. King would not have presumed to insist upon such
1713. terms, but have been glad to comply with more moderate conditions. Sir William Wyndham reflected on the late ministry, for having neglected to make an advantageous peace when it was in their power. He said that Portugal would always have occasion for the woollen manufactures and the corn of England, and be obliged to buy them at all events. After a violent debate, the House resolved, by a great majority, That a bill should be brought in to make good the eight and ninth articles of the treaty of commerce with France. Against these articles, however, the Portuguese minister presented a memorial, declaring, that should the duties on French wines be lowered to the same level with those that were laid on the wines of Portugal, his master would renew the prohibition of the woollen manufactures, and other products of Great-Britain. Indeed, all the trading part of the nation exclaimed against the treaty of commerce, which seems to have been concluded in a hurry, before the ministers fully understood the nature of the subject. This precipitation was owing to the fears that their endeavours after peace would miscarry from the intrigues of the Whig-faction, and the obstinate opposition of the confederates.

§ XXVI. The Commons having granted an aid of two shillings in the pound, proceeded to renew the duty on malt for another year, and extended this tax to the whole island, notwithstanding the warm remonstrances of the Scottish members, who
 represented

represented it as a burden which their country could not bear. They insisted upon an express article of the Union, stipulating, That no duty should be laid on the malt in Scotland during the war, which they affirmed was not yet finished, inasmuch as the peace with Spain had not been proclaimed. During the adjournment of the parliament, on account of the Whitsun-holidays, the Scots of both Houses, laying aside all party-distinctions, met and deliberated on this subject. They deputed the Duke of Argyle, the Earl of Mar, Mr. Lockhart, and Mr. Cockburn, to lay their grievances before the Queen. They represented, that their countrymen bore with impatience the violation of some articles of the Union; and that the imposition of such an insupportable burden as the malt-tax would in all probability prompt them to declare the union dissolved. The Queen, alarmed at this remonstrance, answered, that she wished they might not have cause to repent of such a precipitate resolution; but she would endeavour to make all things easy. On the first day of June, the Earl of Findlater, in the House of Peers, represented that the Scottish nation was aggrieved in many instances: that they were deprived of a privy-council; and subjected to the English laws in cases of treason: that their nobles were rendered incapable of being created British peers; and that now they were oppressed with the insupportable burden of a malt-tax, when they had reason to expect they should reap the benefits of peace: he, therefore, moved, that leave might be given to bring in a bill for dissolving the Union, and securing the

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protestant succession in the house of Hanover. Lord North and Grey affirmed, that the complaints of the Scots were groundless; that the dissolution of the Union was impracticable; and he made some sarcastic reflections on the poverty of that nation. He was answered by the Earl of Eglinton, who admitted the Scots were poor, and therefore unable to pay the malt-tax. The Earl of Ilay, among other pertinent remarks upon the Union, observed, that when the treaty was made, the Scots took it for granted, that the parliament of Great Britain would never load them with any imposition that they had reason to believe grievous. The Earl of Peterborough compared the Union to a marriage. He said, that though England, who must be supposed the husband might in some instances prove unkind to the lady, she ought not immediately to sue for a divorce, the rather because she had very much mended her fortune by the match. Ilay replied, that marriage was an ordinance of God; and the Union no more than a political expedient. The other affirmed, that the contract could not have been more solemn, unless, like the ten commandments, it had come from heaven: he inveighed against the Scots, as a people that would never be satisfied; that would have all the advantages resulting from the Union, but would pay nothing by their good will, although they had received more money from England than the amount of all their estates. To these animadversions the Duke of Argyle made a very warm reply. "I have been reflected on by some people (said he) as if I was disgusted, and had changed sides; but I despise their

“ persons, as much as I undervalue their judgment.” He urged, that the malt-tax in Scotland was like taxing land by the acre throughout England, because land was worth five pounds an acre in the neighbourhood of London, and would not fetch so many shillings in the remote counties. In like manner, the English malt was valued at four times the price of that which was made in Scotland; therefore, the tax in this country must be levied by a regiment of dragoons. He owned he had a great share in making the Union, with a view to secure the protestant succession; but he was now satisfied this end might be answered as effectually if the Union was dissolved; and, if this step should not be taken, he did not expect long to have either property left in Scotland, or liberty in England. All the Whig-members voted for the dissolution of that treaty which they had so eagerly promoted; while the Tories strenuously supported the measure against which they had once argued with such vehemence. In the course of the debate, the Lord-Treasurer observed, that although the malt-tax were imposed, it might be afterwards remitted by the crown. The Earl of Sunderland expressed surprise at hearing that noble lord broach a doctrine which tended to establish a despotic dispensing power, and arbitrary government. Oxford replied, his family had never been famous, as some others had been, for promoting and advising arbitrary measures. Sunderland, considering this expression as a sarcasm levelled at the memory of his father, took occasion to vindicate his conduct; adding, that in those days the other lord’s family

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was hardly known. Much violent altercation was discharged. At length the motion for the bill was rejected by a small majority, and the malt-bill afterwards passed with great difficulty.

§ XXVII. Another bill being brought into the House of Commons, for rendering the treaty of commerce effectual, such a number of petitions were delivered against it, and so many solid arguments advanced by the merchants who were examined on the subject, that even a great number of Tory-members were convinced of the bad consequence it would produce to trade, and voted against the ministry on this occasion; so that the bill was rejected by a majority of nine voices. At the same time, however, the House agreed to an address, thanking her Majesty for the great care she had taken of the security and honor of her kingdoms in the treaty of peace; as also for having laid so good a foundation for the interest of her people in trade. They likewise besought her to appoint commissioners to treat with those of France, for adjusting such matters as should be necessary to be settled on the subject of commerce, that the treaty might be explained and perfected for the good and welfare of her people. The Queen interpreted this address into a full approbation of the treaties of peace and commerce, and thanked them accordingly in the warmest terms of satisfaction and acknowledgment. The Commons afterwards desired to know what equivalent should be given for the demolition of Dunkirk; and she gave them to understand, that this was already in the hands of his most Christian Majesty: then they besought her

that she would not evacuate the towns of Flanders that were in her possession, until those who were entitled to the sovereignty of the Spanish Netherlands should agree to such articles for regulating trade as might place the subjects of Great-Britain upon an equal footing with those of any other nation. The Queen made a favorable answer to all their remonstrances. Such were the steps taken by the parliament during this session with relation to the famous treaty of Utrecht, against which the Whigs exclaimed so violently, that many well-meaning people believed it would be attended with the immediate ruin of the kingdom: yet, under the shadow of this very treaty, Great-Britain enjoyed a long term of peace and tranquillity. Bishop Burnet was heated with an enthusiastic terror of the House of Bourbon. He declared to the Queen in private, that any treaty by which Spain and the West-Indies were left in the hands of King Philip must in a little time deliver all Europe into the hands of France: that, if any such peace was made, the Queen was betrayed, and her people ruined: that in less than three years she would be murdered, and the fires would blaze again in Smithfield. This prelate lived to see his prognostic disappointed; therefore, he might have suppressed this anecdote of his own conduct.

§ XXVIII. On the twenty-fifth day of June, the Queen signified, in a message to the House of Commons, that her civil list was burdened with some debts incurred by several articles of extraordinary expense; and that she hoped they would empower

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her to raise such a sum of money upon the funds for that provision, as would be sufficient to discharge the incumbrances, which amounted to five hundred thousand pounds. A bill was immediately prepared for raising this sum on the civil-list revenue, and passed through both Houses with some difficulty. Both Lords and Commons addressed the Queen concerning the Chevalier de St. George, who had repaired to Lorraine. They desired she would press the Duke of that name, and all the princes and states in amity with her, to exclude from their dominions the pretender to the imperial crown of Great-Britain. A public thanksgiving for the peace was appointed and celebrated with great solemnity; and on the sixteenth day of July the Queen closed the session with a speech which was not at all agreeable to the violent Whigs, because it did not contain one word about the Pretender and the protestant succession. From these omissions they concluded, that the dictates of natural affection had biased her in favor of the Chevalier de St. George. Whatever sentiments of tenderness and compassion she might feel for that unfortunate exile, the acknowledged son of her own father, it does not appear that she ever entertained a thought of altering the succession as by law established. The term of Sacheverel's suspension being expired, extraordinary rejoicings were made upon the occasion. He was desired to preach before the House of Commons, who thanked him for his sermon; and the Queen promoted him to the rich benefice of St. Andrew's, Holbourn. On the other hand, the Duke d'Aumont, ambassador from France, was insulted by the populace. Scurrilous

ballads were published against him both in the English and French languages. He received divers anonymous letters, containing threats of setting fire to his house, which was accordingly burned to the ground, though whether by accident or design he could not well determine. The magistracy of Dunkirk, having sent a deputation with an address to the Queen, humbly imploring her Majesty to spare the port and harbour of that town, and representing that they might be useful to her own subjects, the memorial was printed and dispersed, and the arguments it contained were answered and refuted by Addison, Steele, and Maynwaring. Commissioners were sent to see the fortifications of Dunkirk demolished. They were accordingly rased to the ground; the harbour was filled up; and the Duke d'Aumont returned to Paris in the month of November. The Queen by her remonstrances to the court of Versailles, had procured the enlargement of one hundred and thirty-six protestants from the galleys; understanding afterwards that as many more were detained on the same account, she made such application to the French ministry, that they too were released. Than she appointed General Ross her envoy extraordinary to the King of France.

§ XXIX. The Duke of Shrewsbury being nominated lord-lieutenant of Ireland, assembled the parliament of that kingdom on the twenty-fifth day of November, and found the two Houses still at variance, on the opposite principles of Whig and Tory. Allan Broderick being chosen speaker of the Commons, they ordered a bill to be brought in, to attain the Pretender and all his adherents. They prosecuted

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Edward Lloyd, for publishing a book entitled, "Memoirs of the Chevalier de St. George;" and they agreed upon an address to the Queen, to remove from the chancellorship Sir Constantine Phipps, who had countenanced the Tories of that kingdom. The Lords, however, resolved, that Chancellor Phipps had, in his several stations, acquitted himself with honor and integrity. The two Houses of convocation presented an address to the same purpose. They likewise complained of Mr. Moleworth, for having insulted them, by saying, when they appeared in the castle of Dublin, "They that have turned the world upside-down are come hither also;" and he was removed from the privy-council. The Duke of Shrewsbury received orders to prorogue this parliament, which was divided against itself, and portended nothing but domestic broils. Then he obtained leave to return to England, leaving Chancellor Phipps, with the Archbishops of Armagh and Tuam, justices of the kingdom.

§ XXX. The parliament of England had been dissolved; and the elections were managed in such a manner as to retain the legislative power in the hands of the Tories; but the meeting of the new parliament was delayed by repeated prorogations to the tenth day of December; a delay partly owing to the Queen's indisposition; and partly to the contests among her ministers. Oxford and Bolingbroke were competitors for power, and rivals in reputation for ability. The Treasurer's parts were deemed the more solid; the Secretary's more shining: but both ministers were aspiring and ambitious. The first was

bent upon maintaining the first rank in the administration which he had possessed since the revolution in the ministry: the other disdained to act as a subaltern to the man whom he thought he excelled in genius, and equalled in importance. They began to form separate cabals, and adopt different principles. Bolingbroke insinuated himself into the confidence of Lady Masham, to whom Oxford had given some cause of disgust. By this communication he gained ground in the good opinion of his sovereign, while the Treasurer lost it in the same proportion. Thus she who had been the author of his elevation was now used as the instrument of his disgrace. The Queen was sensibly affected with these dissensions, which she interposed her advice and authority, by turns, to appease: but their mutual animosity continued to rankle under an exterior accommodation. The interest of Bolingbroke was powerfully supported by Sir Simon Harcourt, the chancellor, Sir William Wyndham, and Mr. Secretary Bromley. Oxford perceived his own influence was on the wane, and began to think of retirement. Mean while, the Earl of Peterborough was appointed ambassador to the King of Sicily; and set out for Turin. The Queen retired to Windsor, where she was seized with a very dangerous inflammatory fever. The hopes of the Jacobites visibly rose: the public funds immediately fell: a great run was made upon the Bank, the directors of which were overwhelmed with consternation, which was not a little increased by the report of an armament equipped in the ports of France. They sent one of their members to represent

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to the Treasurer the danger that threatened the public credit. The Queen, being made acquainted with these occurrences, signed a letter to Sir Samuel Stancer, lord-mayor of London, declaring, that now she was recovered of her late indisposition she would return to the place of her usual residence, and open the parliament on the sixteenth day of February. This intimation she sent to her loving subjects of the city of London, to the intent that all of them, in their several stations, might discountenance those malicious rumors, spread by evil-minded persons, to the prejudice of credit, and the imminent hazard of the public peace and tranquillity. The Queen's recovery, together with certain intelligence that the armament was a phantom, and the Pretender still in Lorraine, helped to assuage the ferment of the nation, which had been industriously raised by party-writings. Mr. Richard Steele published a performance, entitled, "The Crisis," in defence of the Revolution and the protestant establishment, and enlarging upon the danger of a popish successor. On the other hand, the hereditary right of the crown of England was asserted in a large volume, supposed to be written with a view to pave the way for the Pretender's accession. One Bedford was apprehended, tried, convicted, and severely punished, as the publisher of this treatise.

§ XXXI. While England was harassed by these intestine commotions, the Emperor, rejecting the terms of peace proposed by France, resolved to maintain the war at his own expense, with the assistance

of the empire. His forces on the Rhine, commanded by Prince Eugene, were so much out-numbered by the French under Villars, that they could not prevent the enemy from reducing the two important fortresses of Landau and Friburgh. His Imperial Majesty hoped that the death of Queen Anne, or that of Louis XIV. would produce an alteration in Europe that might be favorable to his interest; and he depended upon the conduct and fortune of Prince Eugene for some lucky event in war. But finding himself disappointed in all these expectations, and absolutely unable to support the expense of another campaign, he hearkened to overtures of peace that were made by the Electors of Cologne and Palatine; and conferences were opened at the castle of Altrastadt, between Prince Eugene and Marechal de Villars, on the twenty-sixth day of November. In the beginning of February, these ministers separated, without seeming to have come to any conclusion: but all the articles being settled between the two courts of Vienna and Versailles, they met again the latter end of the month: the treaty was signed on the third day of March; and orders were sent to the governors and commanders on both sides to desist from all hostilities. By this treaty, the French King yielded to the Emperor Old Brisac, with all its dependencies, Friburgh, the forts in the Brisgau and Black Forest, together with Fort Kehl. He engaged to demolish the fortifications opposite to Huningen, the fort of Sellingen, and all between that and Fort Louis. The town and fortrefs of Landau were ceded to the King of France, who

B O O K acknowledged the Elector of Hanover. The Electors of Bavaria and Cologne were restored to all their dignities and dominions. The Emperor was put in immediate possession of the Spanish Netherlands; and the King of Prussia was permitted to retain the high quarter of Gueldres. Finally, the contracting parties agreed that a congress should be opened on the first of May, at Baden in Switzerland, for terminating all differences; and Prince Eugene and Mareschal de Villars were appointed their first plenipotentiaries.

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§ XXXII. The ratifications of the treaty between Great-Britain and Spain being exchanged, the peace was proclaimed on the first day of March, in London; and the articles were not disagreeable to the English nation. The kingdoms of France and Spain were separated for ever. Philip acknowledged the protestant succession, and renounced the Pretender. He agreed to a renewal of the treaty of navigation and commerce concluded in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-seven. He granted an exclusive privilege to the English for furnishing the Spanish West-Indies with negroes, according to the *asiento* contract². He ceded Gibraltar to England, as well as the island of Minorca, on condition that the Spanish inhabitants should enjoy their estates and religion. He

² The *asiento* contract stipulated that from the first day of May, 1713, to the first of May, 1743, the Company should transport into the West-Indies one hundred forty-four thousand negroes, at the rate of four thousand eight hundred negroes a year; and pay for each negro thirty-three pieces of eight and one third, in full for all royal duties.

obliged himself to grant a full pardon to the Catalonians, with the possession of all their estates, honors, and privileges, and to yield the kingdom of Sicily to the Duke of Savoy. The new parliament was opened by commission in February, and Sir Thomas Hanmer was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons. On the second day of March, the Queen being carried in a sedan to the House of Lords, signified to both Houses, that she had obtained an honorable and advantageous peace for her own people, and for the greatest part of her allies; and she hoped her interposition might prove effectual to complete the settlement of Europe. She observed, that some persons had been so malicious as to insinuate that the protestant succession in the house of Hanover was in danger under her government; but that those who endeavoured to distract the minds of men with imaginary dangers could only mean to disturb the public tranquillity. She said, that after all she had done to secure the religion and liberties of her people, she could not mention such proceedings without some degree of warmth; and she hoped her parliament would agree with her, that attempts to weaken her authority, or to render the possession of the crown uneasy to her, could never be proper means to strengthen the protestant succession. Affectionate addresses were presented by the Lords, the Commons, and the Convocation: but the ill humor of party still subsisted, and was daily inflamed by new pamphlets and papers. Steele, supported by Addison and Hallifax, appeared in the front of those who drew their pens in defence of Whig-principles; and Swift was the champion of the ministry.

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§ XXXIII. The Earl of Wharton complained in the House of Lords of a libel, entitled, "The public spirit of the Whigs set forth in their generous encouragement of the author of the Crisis." It was a sarcastic performance, imputed to Lord Bolingbroke and Swift, interspersed with severe reflections upon the Union, the Scottish nation, and the Duke of Argyle in particular. The Lord-Treasurer disclaimed all knowledge of the author, and readily concurred in an order for taking into custody John Morphew, the publisher, as well as John Barber, printer of the Gazette, from whose house the copies were brought to Morphew. The Earl of Wharton said it highly concerned the honor of that august assembly to find out the villain who was author of that false and scandalous libel, that justice might be done to the Scottish nation. He moved, that Barber and his servants might be examined: but, next day, the Earl of Mar, one of the Secretaries of State, declared, that, in pursuance to her Majesty's command, he had directed John Barber to be prosecuted. Notwithstanding this interposition, which was calculated to screen the offenders, the Lords presented an address, beseeching her Majesty to issue out her royal proclamation, promising a reward to any person who should discover the author of the libel, which they conceived to be false, malicious, and factious, highly dishonorable and scandalous to her Majesty's subjects of Scotland, most injurious to her Majesty, and tending to the ruin of the constitution. In compliance with their request, a reward of three hundred pounds was offered: but the author remained safe from all detection.

§ XXXIV. The Commons having granted the supplies, ordered a bill to be brought in for securing the freedom of parliaments, by limiting the number of officers in the House of Commons; and it passed through both Houses with little difficulty. In March, a complaint was made of several scandalous papers, lately published, under the name of Richard Steele, Esquire, a member of the House. Sir William Wyndham observed, that some of that author's writings contained insolent, injurious reflections on the Queen herself, and were dictated by the spirit of rebellion. Steele was ordered to attend in his place: some paragraphs of his works were read; and he answered them with an affected air of self-confidence and unconcern. A day being appointed for his trial, he acknowledged the writings, and entered into a more circumstantial defence. He was assisted by Mr. Addison, General Stanhope, and Mr. Walpole; and attacked by Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Foley, and the Attorney-General. Whatever could be urged in his favor was but little regarded by the majority, which voted, that two pamphlets, entitled, "The Englishman, and the Crisis," written by Richard Steele, Esquire, were scandalous and seditious libels; and that he should be expelled the House of Commons.

§ XXXV. The Lords, taking into consideration the state of the nation, resolved upon addresses to the Queen, desiring they might know what steps had been taken for removing the Pretender from the dominions of the Duke of Lorraine: that she would impart to them a detail of the negotiations for peace, a

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recital of the instances which had been made in favor of the Catalans, and an account of the monies granted by parliament since the year one thousand seven hundred and ten, to carry on the war in Spain and Portugal. They afterwards agreed to other addressees, beseeching her Majesty to lay before them the debts and state of the navy, the particular writs of Noli Prosequi granted since her accession to the throne; and a list of such persons as, notwithstanding sentence of outlawry or attainder, had obtained licences to return into Great-Britain, or other of her Majesty's dominions, since the Revolution. Having voted an application to the Queen in behalf of the distressed Catalans, the House adjourned itself to the last day of March. As the minds of men had been artfully irritated by false reports of a design undertaken by France in behalf of the Pretender, the ambassador of that crown at the Hague, disowned it in a public paper, by command of his Most Christian Majesty. The suspicions of many people, however, had been too deeply planted by the arts and insinuations of the Whig-leaders, to be eradicated by this or any other declaration; and what served to rivet their apprehensions, was a total removal of the Whigs from all the employments, civil and military, which they had hitherto retained. These were now bestowed upon professed Tories, some of whom were attached at bottom to the supposed heir of blood. At a time when the Queen's views were maliciously misrepresented; when the wheels of her government were actually impeded, and her servants threatened with proscription by a powerful, turbulent, and implacable

implacable faction³; no wonder that she discharged the partisans of that faction from her service, and filled their places with those who were distinguished by a warm affection to the house of Stuart, and by a submissive respect for the regal authority. Those were steps which her own sagacity must have suggested; and which her ministers would naturally advise as necessary for their own preservation. The Whigs were all in commotion, either apprehending, or affecting to apprehend, that a design was formed to secure the Pretender's succession to the throne of Great-Britain. Their chiefs held secret consultations with Baron Schutz, the resident from Hanover. They communicated their observations to the Elector: they received his instructions: they maintained a correspondence with the Duke of Marlborough; and they concerted measures for opposing all efforts that might be made against the protestant succession upon the death of the Queen, whose health was by this time so much impaired, that every week was believed to be the last of her life. This conduct of the Whigs was resolute, and, and would have been laudable, had their zeal been confined within the bounds of truth and moderation: but they, moreover, employed all their arts to excite and encourage the fears and jealousies of the people.

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§ XXXVI. The House of Peers resounded with debates upon the Catalans, the Pretender, and the danger that threatened the protestant succession. With respect to the Catalonians, they represented, that Great-Britain had prevailed upon them to

³ Boyer. Burnet. Tindal. Torcy. Bolingbroke. Voltaire.
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declare for the house of Austria, with promise of support; and that these engagements ought to have been made good. Lord Bolingbroke declared that the Queen had used all her endeavours in their behalf; and that her engagements with them subsisted no longer than King Charles resided in Spain. They agreed, however, to an address, acknowledging her Majesty's endeavours in favor of the Catalans, and requesting she would continue her interposition in their behalf. With respect to the Pretender, the Whig-lords expressed such a spirit of persecution and rancorous hate, as would have disgraced the members of any, even the lowest assembly of Christians. Not contented with hunting him from one country to another, they seemed eagerly bent upon extirpating him from the face of the earth, as if they had thought it was a crime in him to be born. The Earl of Sunderland declared, from the information of the minister of Lorraine, that, notwithstanding the application of both Houses to her Majesty, during the last session, concerning the Pretender's being removed from Lorraine, no instances had yet been made to the Duke for that purpose. Lord Bolingbroke affirmed that he himself had made those instances, in the Queen's name, to that very minister before his departure from England. The Earl of Wharton proposed a question, "Whether the protestant succession was in danger under the present administration?" A warm debate ensued, in which the Archbishop of York and the Earl of Anglesey joined in the opposition to the ministry. The Earl pretended to be convinced and converted by the arguments used in the

course of the debate. He owned he had given his assent to the cessation of arms, for which he took shame to himself, asking pardon of God, his country, and his conscience. He affirmed that the honor of his sovereign, and the good of his country, were the rules of his actions; but that, without respect of persons, should he find himself imposed upon, he durst pursue an evil minister from the Queen's closet to the Tower, and from the Tower to the scaffold. This conversion, however, was much more owing to a full persuasion that a ministry divided against itself could not long subsist, and that the protestant succession was firmly secured. He therefore, resolved to make a merit of withdrawing himself from the interests of a tottering administration, in whose ruin he might be involved. The Duke of Argyle charged the ministers with mal-administration, both within those walls and without: he offered to prove that the Lord-Treasurer had yearly remitted a sum of money to the Highland clans of Scotland, who were known to be entirely devoted to the Pretender. He affirmed that the new modelling of the army, the practice of disbanding some regiments out of their turn, and removing a great number of officers, on account of their affection to the House of Hanover, were clear indications of the ministry's designs: that it was a disgrace to the nation to see men who had never looked an enemy in the face advanced to the posts of several brave officers, who, after they had often exposed their lives for their country, were now starving in prison for debt, on account of their pay's being detained. The Treasurer, laying his hand

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upon his breast, said he had on so many occasions given such signal proofs of affection to the protestant succession, that he was sure no member of that august assembly did call it in question. He owned he had remitted, for two or three years past, between three and four thousand pounds to the Highland clans; and he hoped the House would give him an opportunity to clear his conduct in that particular: with respect to the reformed officers, he declared he had given orders for their being immediately paid. The protestant succession was voted out of danger, by a small majority.

§ XXXVII. Lord Hallifax proposed an address to the Queen, that she would renew her instances for the speedy removing the Pretender out of Lorraine; and that she would, in conjunction with the States-General, enter into the guarantee of the protestant succession in the House of Hanover. The Earl of Wharton moved that in the address her Majesty should be desired to issue a proclamation, promising a reward to any person who should apprehend the Pretender dead or alive. He was seconded by the Duke of Bolton; and the House agreed that an address should be presented. When it was reported by the committee, Lord North and Grey expatiated upon the barbarity of setting a price on any one's head: he proved it was an encouragement to murder and assassination; contrary to the precepts of Christianity; repugnant to the law of nature and nations; inconsistent with the dignity of such an august assembly, and with the honor of a nation famed for lenity and mercy. He was supported by Lord Trevor, who moved

that the reward should be promised for apprehending and bringing the Pretender to justice, in case he should land or attempt to land in Great-Britain or Ireland. The cruelty of the first clause was zealously supported and vindicated by the Lords Cowper and Hallifax; but by this time the Earl of Anglesey and some others, who had abandoned the ministry, were brought back to their former principles, by promise of profitable employments; and the mitigation was adopted by a majority of ten voices. To this address, which was delivered by the Chancellor and the Whig-lords only, the Queen replied in these words: "My lords, it would be a real strengthening
" to the succession in the House of Hanover, as well
" as a support to my government, that an end were
" put to those groundless fears and jealousies which
" have been so industriously promoted. I do not
" at this time see any occasion for such a procla-
" mation. Whenever I judge it to be necessary, I
" shall give my orders for having it issued. As to
" the other particulars of this address, I will give
" proper directions therein." She was likewise importuned, by another address, to issue out a proclamation against all jesuits, popish priests, and bishops, as well as against all such as were outlawed for adhering to the late King James and the Pretender. The House resolved, That no person, not included in the articles of Limerick, and who had borne arms in France and Spain, should be capable of any employment civil or military: and that no person, a natural-born subject of her Majesty, should be

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capable of sustaining the character of a public minister from any foreign potentate. These resolutions were aimed at Sir Patrick Lawless, an Irish papist, who had come to England with a credential letter from King Philip, but now thought proper to quit the kingdom.

§ XXXVIII. Then the lords in the opposition made an attack upon the Treasurer, concerning the money he had remitted to the Highlanders: but Oxford silenced his opposers, by asserting, that in so doing he had followed the example of King William, who, after he had reduced that people, thought fit to allow yearly pensions to the heads of clans, in order to keep them quiet. His conduct was approved by the House; and Lord North and Grey moved, that a day might be appointed for considering the state of the nation, with regard to the treaties of peace and commerce. The motion was seconded by the Earl of Clarendon; and the thirteenth day of April fixed for this purpose. In the mean time, Baron Schutz demanded of the Chancellor a writ for the Electoral Prince of Hanover, to sit in the House of Peers as Duke of Cambridge, intimating that his design was to reside in England. The writ was granted with reluctance: but the Prince's design of coming to England was so disagreeable to the Queen, that she signified her disapprobation of such a step in a letter to the Princess Sophia. She observed that such a method of proceeding would be dangerous to the succession itself, which was not secure any other way, than as the prince who was in actual possession of the throne

maintained her authority and prerogative: she said a great many people in England were seditiously disposed; so she left her highness to judge what tumults they might be able to raise should they have a pretext to begin a commotion: she, therefore, persuaded herself that her aunt would not consent to any thing which might disturb the repose of her and her subjects. At the same time she wrote a letter to the Electoral Prince, complaining that he had formed such a resolution without first knowing her sentiments on the subject; and telling him plainly, that nothing could be more dangerous to the tranquillity of her dominions, to the right of succession in the Hanoverian line, or more disagreeable to her, than such conduct at this juncture. A third letter was written to the Elector, his father; and the Treasurer took this opportunity to assure that prince of his inviolable attachment to the family of Hanover.

§ XXXIV. The Whig-lords were dissatisfied with the Queen's answer to their address concerning the Pretender; and they moved for another address on the same subject, which was resolved upon, but never presented. They took into consideration the treaties of peace and commerce, to which many exceptions were taken; and much sarcasm was expended on both sides of the dispute: but at length the majority carried the question in favor of an address, acknowledging her Majesty's goodness, in delivering them, by a safe, honorable, and advantageous peace with France, from the burden of a consuming land-war, unequally carried on, and

BOOK become at last impracticable. The House of Commons concurred in this address, after having voted that the protestant succession was out of danger: but these resolutions were not taken without violent opposition, in which General Stanhope, Mr. Lechmere, and Mr. Walpole, chiefly distinguished themselves. The letters which the Queen had written to the Electoral house of Hanover were printed and published in England, with a view to inform the friends of that family of the reasons which prevented the Duke of Cambridge from executing his design of residing in Great-Britain. The Queen considered this step as a personal insult, as well as an attempt to prejudice her in the opinions of her subjects: she, therefore, ordered the publisher to be taken into custody. At this period the Princess Sophia died, in the eighty-fourth year of her age; and her death was intimated to the Queen by Baron Bothmar, who arrived in England with the character of envoy-extraordinary from the Elector of Hanover. This princess was the fourth and youngest daughter of Frederick, Elector Palatine, King of Bohemia, and Elisabeth, daughter of King James I. of England. She enjoyed from nature an excellent capacity, which was finely cultivated; and was in all respects one of the most accomplished princesses of the age in which she lived. At her death the court of England appeared in mourning; and the Elector of Brunswick was prayed for by name in the liturgy of the church of England. On the twelfth day of May, Sir William Wyndham made a motion for a bill to prevent the growth of schism, and for the further security of

the church of England as by law established. The design of it was to prohibit dissenters from teaching in schools and academies. It was accordingly prepared, and eagerly opposed in each House as a species of persecution. Nevertheless, it made its way through both, and received the royal assent: but the Queen dying before it took place, this law was rendered ineffectual.

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§ XL. Her Majesty's constitution was now quite broken: one fit of sickness succeeded another: what completed the ruin of her health was the anxiety of her mind, occasioned partly by the discontents which had been raised and fomented by the enemies of her government; and partly by the dissensions among her ministers, which were now become intolerable. The council-chamber was turned into a scene of obstinate dispute and bitter altercation. Even in the Queen's presence the Treasurer and Secretary did not abstain from mutual obloquy and reproach. Oxford advised moderate measures, and is said to have made advances towards a reconciliation with the leaders of the Whig-party. As he foresaw it would soon be their turn to domineer, such precautions were necessary for his own safety. Bolingbroke affected to set the Whigs at defiance: he professed a warm zeal for the church: he soothed the Queen's inclinations with the most assiduous attention. He and his coadjutrix insinuated, that the Treasurer was biassed in favor of the dissenters, and even that he acted as a spy for the house of Hanover. In the midst of these disputes and commotions the Jacobites were not idle. They flattered themselves that the Queen in secret

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favored the pretensions of her brother; and they depended upon Bolingbroke's attachment to the same interest. They believed the same sentiments were cherished by the nation in general. They held private assemblies both in Great-Britain and in Ireland. They concerted measures for turning the dissensions of the kingdom to the advantage of their cause. They even proceeded so far as to enlist men for the service of the Pretender. Some of these practices were discovered by the Earl of Wharton, who did not fail to sound the alarm. A proclamation was immediately published, promising a reward of five thousand pounds for apprehending the Pretender whenever he should land or attempt to land in Great Britain. The Commons voted an address of thanks for the proclamation; and assured her Majesty, that they would cheerfully aid and assist her, by granting the sum of a hundred thousand pounds, as a further reward to any who should perform so great a service to her Majesty and her kingdoms. The Lords likewise presented an address on the same subject. Lord Bolingbroke proposed a bill, decreeing the penalties of high-treason against those who should list or be enlisted in the Pretender's service. The motion was approved, and the penalty extended to all those who should list or be enlisted in the service of any foreign prince or state, without a licence under the sign manual of her Majesty, her heirs or successors.

§ XLI. On the second day of July, the Lords took into consideration the treaty of commerce with Spain; and a great number of merchants being examined at the bar of the House, declared that unless the

explanations of the third fifth, and eighth articles, as made at Madrid after the treaty was signed, were rescinded, they could not carry on their commerce without losing five-and-twenty per cent. After a long debate, the House resolved to address the Queen for all the papers relating to the negociation of the treaty of commerce with Spain, with the names of the persons who advised her Majesty to that treaty. To this address she replied, that understanding the three explanatory articles of the treaty were not detrimental to the trade of her subjects, she had consented to their being ratified with the treaty. The Earl of Wharton represented, that if so little regard was shown to the addresses of that august assembly to the sovereign, they had no business in that house. He moved for a remonstrance, to lay before her Majesty the insuperable difficulties that attended the Spanish trade on the footing of the late treaty; and the House agreed to his motion. Another member moved, that the House should insist on her Majesty's naming the persons who advised her to ratify the three explanatory articles. This was a blow aimed at Arthur Moore, a member of the Lower House, whom Lord Bolingbroke had consulted on the subject of the treaty. He was screened by the majority in parliament: but a general court of the South-Sea company resolved, upon a complaint exhibited by Captain Johnson, that Arthur Moore, while a director, was privy to, and encouraged the design of carrying on a clandestine trade, to the prejudice of the corporation, contrary to his oath, and in breach of the trust reposed in him: that, therefore, he should be declared incapable of

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being a director of, or having any employment in this company. The Queen had reserved to herself the quarter part of the assiento contract, which she now gave up to the company, and received the thanks of the Upper House: but she would not discover the names of those who advised her to ratify the explanatory articles. On the ninth day of July, she thought proper to put an end to the session, with a speech on the usual subjects. After having assured them, that her chief concern was to preserve the protestant religion, the liberty of her subjects, and to secure the tranquillity of her kingdoms, she concluded in these words: "But I must tell you plainly, that these
 "desirable ends can never be obtained, unless you
 "bring the same dispositions on your parts, unless
 "all groundless jealousies, which create and foment
 "divisions among you, be laid aside; and unless you
 "show the same regard for my just prerogative, and
 "for the honor of my government, as I have always
 "expressed for the rights of my people."

§ XLII. After the peace had thus received the sanction of the parliament, the ministers, being no longer restrained by the tie of common danger, gave a loose to their mutual animosity. Oxford wrote a letter to the Queen, containing a detail of the public transactions; in the course of which he endeavoured to justify his own conduct, and expose the turbulent and ambitious spirit of his rival. On the other hand, Bolingbroke charged the Treasurer with having invited the Duke of Marlborough to return from his voluntary exile; and maintained a private correspondence with the house of Hanover. The Duke of

Shrewsbury likewise complained of his having presumed to send orders to him in Ireland, without the priuity of her Majesty and the council. In all probability his greatest crime was his having given umbrage to the favorite, Lady Masham. Certain it is, on the twenty-seventh day of July, a very acrimonious dialogue passed between that lady, the Chancellor, and Oxford, in the Queen's presence. The Treasurer affirmed he had been wronged; and abused by lies and misrepresentations; but he threatened vengeance, declaring he would leave some people as low as he had found them when they first attracted his notice. In the mean time he was removed from his employment; and Bolingbroke seemed to triumph in the victory he had obtained. He laid his account with being admitted as chief minister into the administration of affairs; and is said to have formed the design of a coalition with the Duke of Marlborough, who at this very time embarked at Ostend for England. Probably, Oxford had tried to play the same game, but met with a repulse from the Duke, on account of the implacable resentment which the Duchess had conceived against that minister.

§ XLIII. Whatever schemes might have been formed, the fall of the Treasurer was so sudden, that no plan was established for supplying the vacancy occasioned by his disgrace. The confusion that incessantly ensued at court, and the fatigue of attending a long cabinet council on this event, had such an effect upon the Queen's spirits and constitution, that she declared she should not outlive it, and was immediately seized with a lethargic disorder. Notwithstanding all

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the medicines which the physicians could prescribe, the distemper gained ground so fast, that next day, which was the thirtieth of July, they despaired of her life. Then the committee of the council assembled at the Cockpit adjourned to Kensington. The Dukes of Somerset and Argyle, informed of the desperate situation in which she lay, repaired to the palace; and, without being summoned, entered the council-chamber. The members were surprised at their appearance; but the Duke of Shrewsbury thanked them for their readiness to give their assistance at such a critical juncture; and desired they would take their places. The physicians having declared that the Queen was still sensible, the council unanimously agreed to recommend the Duke of Shrewsbury as the fittest person to fill the place of lord-treasurer. When this opinion was intimated to the Queen, she said, they could not have recommended a person she liked better than the Duke of Shrewsbury. She delivered to him the white staff, bidding him use it for the good of her people. He would have returned the lord-chamberlain's staff, but she desired he would keep them both: so that he was at one time possessed of the three greatest posts in the kingdom, under the titles of lord-treasurer, lord-chamberlain, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland. No nobleman in England better deserved such distinguishing marks of his sovereign's favor. He was modest, liberal, disinterested, and a warm friend to his country. Bolingbroke's ambition was defeated by the vigor which the Dukes of Somerset and Argyle exerted on this occasion. They proposed, that all privy-counsellors in or about London

should be invited to attend, without distinction of party. The motion was approved; and Lord Somers, with many other Whig-members, repaired to Kensington. The council being thus re-enforced began to provide for the security of the kingdom. Orders were immediately dispatched to four regiments of horse and dragoons quartered in remote counties, to march up to the neighbourhood of London and Westminster. Seven of the ten British battalions in the Netherlands were directed to embark at Ostend for England, with all possible expedition: an embargo was laid upon all shipping; and directions given for equipping all the ships of war that could be soonest in a condition for service. They sent a letter to the Elector of Brunswick, signifying that the physicians had despaired of the Queen's life; informing him of the measures they had taken; and desiring he would, with all convenient speed, repair to Holland, where he should be attended by a British squadron, to convey him to England, in case of her Majesty's decease. At the same time they dispatched instructions to the Earl of Strafford, to desire the States-General would be ready to perform the guarantee of the protestant succession. The heralds at arms were kept in waiting, with a troop of horse-guards, to proclaim the new king as soon as the throne should become vacant. Precautions were taken to secure the sea-ports; to over-awe the Jacobites in Scotland; and the command of the fleet was bestowed upon the Earl of Berkeley.

§ XLIV. The Queen continued to doze in a lethargic insensibility, with very short intervals, till the first day of August in the morning, when she expired, in

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the fiftieth year of her age, and in the thirteenth of her reign. Anne Stuart, Queen of Great-Britain, was in her person of the middle size, well proportioned. Her hair was of a dark brown color, her complexion ruddy, her features were regular, her countenance was rather round than oval, and her aspect more comely than majestic. Her voice was clear and melodious, and her presence engaging. Her capacity was naturally good, but not much cultivated by learning; nor did she exhibit any marks of extraordinary genius, or personal ambition. She was certainly deficient in that vigor of mind by which a prince ought to preserve his independence, and avoid the snares and fetters of sycophants and favorites; but whatever her weakness in this particular might have been, the virtues of her heart were never called in question. She was a pattern of conjugal affection and fidelity, a tender mother, a warm friend, an indulgent mistress, a munificent patron, a mild and merciful prince, during whose reign no subject's blood was shed for treason. She was zealously attached to the church of England from conviction rather than from prepossession, unaffectedly pious, just, charitable, and compassionate. She felt a mother's fondness for her people, by whom she was universally beloved with a warmth of affection which even the prejudice of party could not abate. In a word, if she was not the greatest, she was certainly one of the best and most unblemished sovereigns that ever sat upon the throne of England; and well deserved the expressive, though simple epithet of "The good Queen Anne."

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

§ I. *State of parties in Great-Britain.* II. *King George proclaimed.* III. *The civil list granted to his Majesty by the parliament.* IV. *The Electoral Prince created Prince of Wales.* V. *The King arrives in England.* VI. *The Tories totally excluded from the royal favor.* VII. *Pretender's manifesto.* VIII. *New parliament.* IX. *Substance of the King's first speech.* X. *Lord Bolingbroke withdraws himself to France.* XI. *Sir William Wyndham reprimanded by the Speaker.* XII. *Committee of secrecy.* XIII. *Sir John Norris sent with a fleet to the Baltic.* XIV. *Discontent of the nation.* XV. *Report of the secret committee.* XVI. *Resolutions to impeach Lord Bolingbroke, the Earl of Oxford, the Duke of Ormond, and the Earl of Strafford.* XVII. *The Earl of Oxford sent to the Tower. The proclamation-act.* XVIII. *The King declares to both Houses, that a rebellion is begun.* XIX. *The Duke of Ormond and*

Lord Bolingbroke attainted. XX. Intrigues of the Jacobites. XXI. Death of Louis XIV. XXII. The Earl of Mar sets up the Pretender's standard in Scotland. XXIII. Divers members of the Lower House taken into custody. XXIV. The Pretender proclaimed in the north of England by the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster. XXV. Mackintosh crosses the frith of Forth into Lothian, and joins the English insurgents. XXVI. Who are attacked at Preston, and surrender at discretion. XXVII. Battle at Dumblain. XXVIII. The Pretender arrives in Scotland. XXIX. He retires again to France. XXX. Proceedings of the Irish parliament. XXXI. The rebel lords are impeached, and plead guilty. XXXII. The Earl of Derwentwater and Lord Kenmuir are beheaded. XXXIII. Trials of rebels. XXXIV. Act for septennial parliaments. XXXV. Duke of Argyle disgraced. XXXVI. Triple alliance between England, France, and Holland. XXXVII. Count Gyllenburgh, the Swedish minister in London, arrested. XXXVIII. Account of the Oxford-riot. XXXIX. The King demands an extraordinary supply of the Commons. XL. Division in the ministry. XLI. The Commons pass the South-Sea-act, the Bank-act, and the general-fund-act. XLII. Trial of the Earl of Oxford. Act of indemnity. XLIII. Proceedings in the Convocation with regard to Dr. Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor.

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Jacobites had been fed with hopes of seeing the succession altered by the Earl of Oxford. These hopes he had conveyed to them in a distant, undeterminate, and mysterious manner, without any other view than that of preventing them from taking violent measures to embarrass his administration. At least, if he actually entertained at one time any other design, he had, long before his disgrace, laid it wholly aside, probably from an apprehension of the danger with which it must have been attended; and seemed bent upon making a merit of his zeal for the house of Hanover: but his conduct was so equivocal and unsteady, that he ruined himself in the opinion of one party, without acquiring the confidence of the other. The friends of the Pretender derived fresh hopes from the ministry of Bolingbroke. Though he had never explained himself on this subject, he was supposed to favor the heir of blood, and known to be an implacable enemy to the Whigs, who were the most zealous advocates for the protestant succession. The Jacobites promised themselves much from his affection, but more from his resentment: and they believed the majority of the Tories would join them on the same maxims. All Bolingbroke's schemes of power were defeated by the promotion of the Duke of Shrewsbury to the office of Treasurer; and all his hopes blasted by the death of the Queen, on whose personal favor he depended. The resolute behaviour of the Dukes of Somerset and Argyle, together with the diligence and activity of a council in which the Whig-interest had gained the ascendancy, completed the confusion of

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the Tories, who found themselves without a head, divided, distracted, and, irresolute. Upon recollection, they saw nothing so eligible as silence, and submission to those measures which they could not oppose with any prospect of success. They had no other objection to the succession in the House of Hanover, but the fear of seeing the Whig-faction once more predominant: Yet they were not without hope that their new sovereign, who was reputed a prince of sagacity and experience, would cultivate and conciliate the affection of the Tories, who were the landholders and proprietors of the kingdom, rather than declare himself the head of a faction which leaned for support on those who were enemies to the church and monarchy, on the Bank, and the monied-interest, raised upon usury, and maintained by corruption. In a word, the Whigs were elated and overbearing; the Tories abashed and humble; the Jacobites eager, impatient, and alarmed at a juncture which, with respect to them, was truly critical.

§ II. The Queen had no sooner resigned her last breath, than the privy-council met, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord-Chancellor, and the Hanoverian resident, Kreyenberg, produced the three instruments in which the Elector of Brunswick had nominated the persons¹ to be added as lords-justices to the seven great officers of the realm.

¹ These were the Dukes of Shrewsbury, Somerset, Bolton, Devonshire, Kent, Argyle, Montrose, and Roxburgh — the Earls of Pomfret, Anglesey, Carlisle, Nottingham, Abingdon, Scarborough, and Orford — Lord Viscount Townshend, and Lords Halifax and Cowper.

Orders were immediately issued for proclaiming King George, in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The regency appointed the Earl of Dorset to carry to Hanover the intimation of his Majesty's accession, and attend him in his journey to England. They sent the general officers in whom they could confide to their respective posts: they re-enforced the garrison of Portsmouth: they appointed Mr. Addison their secretary: while Bolingbroke was obliged to stand at the door of the council-chamber, with bag and papers, and underwent every species of mortification. On the whole, King George ascended the throne of Great-Britain in the fifty-fifth year of his age, without the least opposition, tumult, or sign of popular discontent; and the unprejudiced part of the nation was now fully persuaded that no design had ever been concerted by Queen Anne and her ministry in favor of the Pretender. The Mayor of Oxford received a letter, requiring him to proclaim the Pretender. This being communicated to the Vice-Chancellor, a copy of it was immediately transmitted to Mr. Secretary Bromley, member of parliament for the University; and the Vice-Chancellor offered a reward of one hundred pounds to any person who should discover the author. It was either the production of some lunatic, or was a weak contrivance to fix an odium on that venerable body.

§ III. The parliament having assembled, pursuant to the act which regulated the succession, the Lord Chancellor, on the fifth day of August, made a speech to both Houses in the name of the regency. He told them, that the privy-council appointed by the

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Elector of Brunswick had proclaimed that prince under the name of King George, as the lawful and rightful sovereign of these kingdoms; and that they had taken the necessary care to maintain the public peace. He observed, that the several branches of the public revenue were expired by the demise of her late Majesty; and recommended to the Commons the making such provision in that respect as might be requisite to support the honor and dignity of the crown. He likewise expressed his hope, that they would not be wanting in any thing that might conduce to the establishing and advancing of the public credit. Both Houses immediately agreed to addresses, containing the warmest expressions of duty and affection to their new sovereign, who did not fail to return such answers as were very agreeable to the parliament of Great-Britain. In the mean time, the Lower House prepared and passed a bill, granting to his Majesty the same civil list which the Queen had enjoyed; with additional clauses for the payment of arrears due to the troops of Hanover, which had been in the service of Great-Britain; and for a reward of one hundred thousand pounds, to be paid by the Treasury to any person who should apprehend the Pretender in landing, or in attempting to land, in any part of the British dominions. Mr. Craggs, who had been dispatched to Hanover before the Queen died, returning on the thirteenth day of August, with letters from the King to the regency, they went to the House of Peers: then the Chancellor, in another speech to both Houses, intimated his Majesty's great satisfaction in the loyalty and affection

which his people had universally expressed at his accession. Other addresses were voted on this occasion. The Commons finished the bill for the civil-list, and one for making some alterations in an act for a state-lottery, which received the royal assent from the lords-justices. Then the parliament was prorogued.

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§ IV. Mr. Prior having notified the Queen's death to the court of Versailles, Louis declared that he would inviolably maintain the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht, particularly with relation to the settlement of the British crown in the House of Hanover. The Earl of Strafford having signified the same event to the States of Holland; and the resident of Hanover presented them with a letter, in which his master claimed the performance of their guarantee, they resolved to perform their engagements, and congratulated his Electoral Highness on his accession to the throne of Great-Britain. They invited him to pass through their dominions; and assured him that his interests were as dear to them as their own. The Chevalier de St. George no sooner received the news of the Queen's death, than he posted to Versailles, where he was given to understand, that the King of France expected he should quit his territories immediately; and he was accordingly obliged to return to Lorraine. By this time Mr. Murray had arrived in England from Hanover, with notice that the King had deferred his departure for some days. He brought orders to the regency to prepare a patent for creating the Prince-Royal Prince of Wales; and for removing Lord Bolingbroke from his post of secretary. The seals were taken from this

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minister by the Dukes of Shrewsbury and Somerset, and Lord Cowper, who at the same time sealed up all the doors of his office.

§ V. King George having vested the government of his German dominions in a council, headed by his brother Prince Ernest, set out with the Electoral Prince from Herrenhausen on the thirty-first day of August; and in five days arrived at the Hague, where he conferred with the States-General. On the sixteenth day of September he embarked at Orange-Polder; under convoy of an English and Dutch squadron, commanded by the Earl of Berkeley; and next day arrived at the Hope. In the after-noon the yacht sailed up the river; and his Majesty, with the Prince, were landed from a barge at Greenwich, about six in the evening. There he was received by the Duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guards, and the lords of the regency. From the landing-place he walked to his house in the Park, accompanied by a great number of the nobility, and other persons of distinction, who had the honor to kiss his hand, as they approached. When he retired to his bed-chamber, he sent for those of the nobility who had distinguished themselves by their zeal for his succession: but the Duke of Ormond, the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Trevor were not of the number. Next morning, the Earl of Oxford presented himself with an air of confidence, as if he had expected to receive some particular mark of his Majesty's favor: but he had the mortification to remain a considerable time undistinguished among

the crowd; and then was permitted to kiss the King's hand, without being honored with any other notice. On the other hand, his Majesty expressed uncommon regard for the Duke of Marlborough, who had lately arrived in England, as well as for all the leaders of the Whig-party.

§ VI. It was the misfortune of this prince, as well as a very great prejudice to the nation, that he had been misled into strong prepossessions against the Tories, who constituted such a considerable part of his subjects. They were now excluded from all share of the royal favor, which was wholly engrossed by their enemies: these early marks of aversion, which he was at no pains to conceal, alienated the minds of many from his person and government, who would otherwise have served him with fidelity and affection. An instantaneous and total change was effected in all offices of honor and advantage. The Duke of Ormond was dismissed from his command, which the King restored to the Duke of Marlborough, whom he likewise appointed colonel of the first regiment of foot-guards, and master of the Ordnance. The great seal was given to Lord Cowper; the privy-seal to the Earl of Wharton; the government of Ireland to the Earl of Sunderland. The Duke of Devonshire was made steward of the household: Lord Townshend and Mr. Stanhope were appointed secretaries of state: the post of secretary for Scotland was bestowed upon the Duke of Montrose. The Duke of Somerset was constituted master of the horse: the Duke of St. Alban's captain of the band of pensioners; and the Duke of Argyle

BOOK II. 1714. commander in chief of the forces in Scotland. Mr. Pulteney became secretary at war; and Mr. Walpole, who had already undertaken to manage the House of Commons, was gratified with the double place of paymaster to the army and to Chelsea-hospital. A new privy-council was appointed, and the Earl of Nottingham declared president: but all affairs of consequence were concerted by a cabinet-council, or junto, composed of the Duke of Marlborough, the Earls of Nottingham and Sunderland, the Lords Hallifax, Townshend, and Somers, and General Stanhope. The regency had already removed Sir Constantine Phipps and the Archbishop of Armagh from the office of lords justices in Ireland, and filled their places in the regency of that kingdom with the Archbishop of Dublin and the Earl of Kildare. Allan Broderick was appointed chancellor: another privy-council was formed, and the Duke of Ormond was named as one of the members. The Treasury and Admiralty were put into commission: all the governments were changed; and, in a word, the whole nation was delivered into the hands of the Whigs. At the same time, the Prince-Royal was declared Prince of Wales, and took his place in council. The King was congratulated on his accession in addresses from the two universities, and from all the cities and corporations in the kingdom. He expressed particular satisfaction at these expressions of loyalty and affection. He declared in council his firm purpose to support and maintain the churches of England and Scotland as they were by law established. An aim which

he imagined might be effectually accomplished, without impairing the toleration allowed by law to protestant dissenters, and so necessary to the trade and riches of the kingdom: he, moreover, assured them he would earnestly endeavour to render property secure; the good effects of which were no where so clearly seen as in this happy nation. Before the coronation he created some new peers, and others were promoted to higher titles². On the twentieth day of October, he was crowned in Westminster with the usual solemnity, at which the Earl of Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke assisted³. On that very day, the university of Oxford, in full convocation, unanimously conferred the degree of doctor of civil law on Sir Constantine Phipps, with particular marks of honor and esteem. As the French King was said to protract the demolition of Dunkirk, Mr. Prior received orders to present a memorial to hasten this work, and to prevent the canal of

² James, Lord Chandos, was created Earl of Caernarvon — Lewis, Lord Rockingham, Earl of that name — Charles, Lord Offulton, Earl of Tankerville — Charles, Lord Hallifax, Earl of Hallifax — Heneage, Lord Guernsey, Earl of Aylesford — John, Lord Hervey, Earl of Bristol — Thomas, Lord Pelham, Earl of Clare — Henry, Earl of Thomond, in Ireland, Viscount Tadcaster — James, Viscount Castleton, in Ireland, Baron Sanderson — Bennet, Lord Sherrard, in Ireland, Baron of Harborough — Gervase, Lord Pierrepont, in Ireland, Baron Pierrepont, in the county of Bucks — Henry Boyle, Baron of Carleton, in the county of York — Sir Richard Temple, Baron of Cobham — Henry, Lord Paget, Earl of Uxbridge.

³ In the month of October, the Princess of Wales arrived in England, with her two eldest daughters, the Princesses Anne and Amelia.

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II. he received being deemed equivocal, this minister
1714. was recalled, and the Earl of Stair appointed ambassador to the court of France, where he prosecuted this affair with uncommon vigor. About the same time, General Cadogan was sent as plenipotentiary to Antwerp, to assist at the barrier-treaty, negociated there between the Emperor and the States-General.

§ VII. Mean while, the number of the malecontents in England was considerably increased by the King's attachment to the Whig-faction. The clamor of the church's being in danger was revived; jealousies were excited; seditious libels dispersed; and dangerous tumults raised in different parts of the kingdom. Birmingham, Bristol, Chippenham, Norwich, and Reading were filled with licentious riot. The party-cry was, "Down with the Whigs! Sacheverel for ever!" Many gentlemen of the Whig-faction were abused; magistrates in towns, and justices in the country, were reviled and insulted by the populace in the execution of their office. The Pretender took this opportunity to transmit, by the French mail, copies of a printed manifesto to the Dukes of Shrewsbury, Marlborough, Argyle, and other noblemen of the first distinction. In this declaration he mentioned the good intentions of his sister towards him, which were prevented by her deplorable death. He observed that his people, instead of doing him and themselves justice, had proclaimed for their king a foreign prince, contrary to the fundamental and

incontestable laws of hereditary right, which their pretended acts of settlement could never abrogate. These papers being delivered to the secretaries of state, the King refused an audience to the Marquis de Lamberti, minister from the Duke of Lorraine, on the supposition that this manifesto could not have been prepared or transmitted without the knowledge and countenance of his master. The Marquis having communicated this circumstance to the Duke, that prince absolutely denied his having been privy to the transaction, and declared that the Chevalier de St. George came into Lorraine by the directions of the French King, whom the Duke could not disoblige without exposing his territories to invasion. Notwithstanding this apology, the Marquis was given to understand, that he could not be admitted to an audience until the Pretender should be removed from the dominions of his master: he, therefore, quitted the kingdom without further hesitation. Religion was still mingled in all political disputes. The high-church-men complained that impiety and heresy daily gained ground, from the connivance, or at least the supine negligence of the Whig-prelates. The Lower House of Convocation had, before the Queen's death, declared that a book published by Dr. Samuel Clarke, under the title of "The Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity," contained assertions contrary to the catholic faith. They sent up extracts from this performance to the bishops; and the Doctor wrote an answer to their objections. He was prevailed upon to write an apology, which he presented to the Upper House: but

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apprehending it might be published separately, and misunderstood, he afterwards delivered an explanation to the Bishop of London. This was satisfactory to the bishops; but the Lower House resolved, that it was no recantation of his heretical assertions. The disputes about the Trinity increasing, the Archbishops and Bishops received directions, which were published, for preserving unity in the church, the purity of the christian faith concerning the holy Trinity, and for maintaining the peace and quiet of the state. By these every preacher was restricted from delivering any other doctrine than what is contained in the holy scriptures with respect to the Trinity; and from intermeddling in any affairs of state or government. The like prohibition was extended to those who should write, harangue, or dispute on the same subjects.

§ VIII. The parliament being dissolved, another was called by a very extraordinary proclamation, in which the King complained of the evil designs of men disaffected to his succession; and of their having misrepresented his conduct and principles. He mentioned the perplexity of public affairs, the interruption of commerce, and the heavy debts of the nation. He expressed his hope that his loving subjects would send up to parliament the fittest persons to redress the present disorders; and that, in elections, they would have a particular regard to such as had expressed a firm attachment to the protestant succession when it was in danger. It does not appear that the protestant succession was ever in danger. How then was this declaration to be

interpreted? People in general construed it into a design to maintain party-distinctions, and encourage the Whigs to the full exertion of their influence in the elections; into a renunciation of the Tories; and as the first flash of that vengeance which afterwards was seen to burst upon the heads of the late ministry. When the Earl of Strafford returned from Holland, all his papers were seized by an order from the secretary's office. Mr. Prior was recalled from France, and promised to discover all he knew relating to the conduct of Oxford's administration. Uncommon vigor was exerted on both sides in the elections; but, by dint of the monied interest, which prevailed in most of the corporations through the kingdom, and the countenance of the ministry, which will always have weight with needy and venal electors, a great majority of Whigs was returned both in England and Scotland.

§ IX. When this new parliament assembled on the seventeenth day of March at Westminster, Mr. Spencer Compton was chosen Speaker of the Commons. On the twenty-first day of the month, the King appeared in the House of Lords, and delivered to the Chancellor a written speech, which was read in presence of both Houses. His Majesty thanked his faithful and loving subjects for that zeal and firmness they had shown in defence of the protestant succession, against all the open and secret practices which had been used to defeat it. He told them, that some conditions of the peace, essential to the security and trade of Great-Britain, were not yet duly executed; and that the performance of the

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whole might be looked upon as precarious, until defensive alliances should be formed to guarantee the present treaties. He observed, that the Pretender boasted of the assistance he expected in England, to repair his former disappointments: that great part of the national trade was rendered impracticable: and that the public debts were surprisngly increased even since the fatal cessation of arms. He gave the Commons to understand, that the branches of the revenue formerly granted for the support of the civil government were so far incumbered and alienated, that the produce of the funds which remained, and had been granted to him, would fall short of what was at first designed for maintaining the honor and dignity of the crown: that as it was his, and their happiness to see a Prince of Wales who might in due time succeed him on the throne; and to see him blessed with many children; these circumstances would naturally occasion an expense to which the nation had not been for many years accustomed; and, therefore, he did not doubt but they would think of it with that affection which he had reason to hope from his Commons. He desired that no unhappy divisions of parties might divert them from pursuing the common interest of their country. He declared that the established constitution in church and state should be the rule of his government; and that the happiness, ease, and prosperity of his people should be the chief care of his life. He concluded with expressing his confidence, that with their assistance he should disappoint the designs of those who wanted to deprive him of that blessing which he most valued, the affection of his people.

§ X.

§ X. Speeches suggested by a vindictive ministry better became the leader of an incensed party, than the father and sovereign of a divided people. This declaration portended measures which it was the interest of the crown to avoid, and suited the temper of the majority in both Houses, which breathed nothing but destruction to their political adversaries. The Lords, in their address of thanks, professed their hope that his Majesty, assisted by the parliament, would be able to recover the reputation of the kingdom in foreign parts, the loss of which they hoped to convince the world by their actions was by no means to be imputed to the nation in general. The Tories said this was an invidious reflection, calculated to mislead and inflame the people; for the reputation of the kingdom had never been so high as at this very juncture. The Commons pretended astonishment to find that any conditions of the late peace should not yet be duly executed; and that care was not taken to form such alliances as might have rendered the peace not precarious. They declared their resolution to inquire into these fatal miscarriages; to trace out those measures whereon the Pretender placed his hopes, and bring the authors of them to condign punishment. These addresses were not voted without opposition. In the House of Lords, the Dukes of Buckingham and Shrewsbury, the Earl of Anglesey, the Archbishop of York, and other peers, both secular and ecclesiastical, observed, that their address was injurious to the late Queen's memory, and would serve only to increase those unhappy divisions that distracted the kingdom. In the Lower House, Sir William

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Wyndham, Mr. Bromley, Mr. Shippen, General Rofs, Sir William Whitelock, and other members, took exceptions to passages of the same nature, in the address which the Commons had prepared. They were answered by Mr. Walpole, Mr. Pulteney, and Mr. Secretary Stanhope. These gentlemen took occasion to declare, that notwithstanding the endeavours which had been used to prevent a discovery of the late mismanagements, by conveying away several papers from the secretary's office, yet the government had sufficient evidence left, to prove the late ministry the most corrupt that ever sat at the helm: that those matters would soon be laid before the House, when it would appear that a certain English general had acted in concert with, if not received orders from, Mareschal de Villars. Lord Bolingbroke, who had hitherto appeared in public, as usual, with remarkable serenity, and spoke in the House of Lords with great freedom and confidence, thought it was now high time to consult his personal safety. He accordingly withdrew to the continent, leaving a letter which was afterwards printed in his justification*. In this paper, he declared he had received certain and repeated informations that a resolution was taken to pursue him to the scaffold: that if there had been the least reason to hope for a fair and open trial, after having been already prejudged, unheard, by the two Houses of parliament, he should not have declined the strictest examination. He challenged the most inveterate of his

* Boyer. Torcy. Tindal. Bolingbroke. Voltaire.

enemies to produce any one instance of criminal correspondence, or the least corruption in any part of the administration in which he was concerned. He said, if his zeal for the honor and dignity of his royal mistress, and the true interest of his country, had any where transported him to let slip a warm and unguarded expression, he hoped the most favorable interpretation would be put upon it. He affirmed that he had served her Majesty faithfully and dutifully, in that especially which she had most at heart, relieving her people from a bloody and expensive war; and that he had always been too much an Englishman to sacrifice the interest of his country to any foreign ally whatsoever.

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§ XI. In the midst of all this violence against the late ministers, friends were not wanting to espouse their cause in the face of opposition; and even in some addresses to the King their conduct was justified. Nay, some individuals had courage enough to attack the present administration. When a motion was made in the House of Commons, to consider the King's proclamation for calling a new parliament, Sir William Whitelock, member for the university of Oxford, boldly declared it was unprecedented and unwarrantable. Being called upon to explain himself, he made an apology. Nevertheless, Sir William Wyndham rising up, said the proclamation was not only unprecedented and unwarrantable, but even of dangerous consequence to the very being of parliaments. When challenged to justify his charge, he observed, that every member was free to speak his thoughts. Some exclaimed, "The Tower! the

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“ Tower ! ” A warm debate ensued ; Sir William being ordered to withdraw , was accompanied by one hundred and twenty - nine members ; and those who remained in the House resolved , That he should be reprimanded by the Speaker. He was accordingly rebuked , for having presumed to reflect on his Majesty’s proclamation , and having made an unwarrantable use of the freedom of speech granted by his Majesty. Sir William said he was not conscious of having offered any indignity to his Majesty , or of having been guilty of a breach of privilege : that he acquiesced in the determination of the House ; but had no thanks to give to those gentlemen who , under pretence of lenity , had subjected him to this censure.

§ XII. On the ninth day of April , General Stanhope delivered to the House of Commons fourteen volumes , consisting of all the papers relating to the late negociations of peace and commerce , as well as to the cessation of arms ; and moved that they might be referred to a select committee of twenty persons , who should digest the substance of them under proper heads , and report them , with their observations to the House. One more was added to the number of this select committee , which was chosen by ballot ; and met that same evening. Robert Walpole , original chairman , being taken ill , was succeeded in that place by Mr. Stanhope. The whole number was subdivided into three committees : to each a certain number of books was allotted ; and they carried on the inquiry with great eagerness and expedition. Before this measure was taken , Dr. Gilbert Burnet , Bishop of Sarum , died of a pleuritic

fever, in the seventy-second year of his age: immediately after the committee had begun to act, the Whig-party lost one of their warmest champions, by the death of the Marquis of Wharton, a nobleman possessed of happy talents for the cabinet, the senate, and the common scenes of life; talents, which a life of pleasure and libertinism did not prevent him from employing with surprising vigor and application. The committee of the Lower House taking the civil-list into consideration, examined several papers relating to that revenue. The Tories observed, that from the seven hundred thousand pounds granted annually to King William, fifty thousand pounds were allotted to the late Queen, when Princess of Denmark; twenty thousand pounds to the Duke of Gloucester; and twice that sum as a dowry to James's Queen: that near two hundred thousand pounds had been yearly deducted from the revenues of the late Queen's civil-list, and applied to other uses; notwithstanding which deduction, she had honorably maintained her family, and supported the dignity of the crown. In the course of the debate some warm altercation passed between Lord Guernsey and one of the members, who affirmed that the late ministry had used the Whigs, and, indeed, the whole nation in such a manner, that nothing they should suffer could be deemed hardship. At length the House agreed that the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds clear should be granted for the civil-list during his Majesty's life. A motion being made for an address against pensions, it was opposed by

BOOK Mr. Walpole, and over-ruled by the majority. The
II. Lords passed the bill for regulating the land forces,
1719. with some amendments.

§ XIII. On the eighteenth day of May, Sir John Norris sailed with a strong Squadron to the Baltic, in order to protect the commerce of the nation, which had suffered from the King of Sweden, who caused all ships trading to those parts to be seized and confiscated. That prince had rejected the treaty of neutrality concerted by the allies for the security of the empire; and considered the English and Dutch as his enemies. The ministers of England and the States-General had presented memorials to the regency of Sweden; but finding no redress, they resolved to protect their trade by force of arms. After the Swedish general Steenbock and his army were made prisoners, Count Wellen concluded a treaty with the administrator of Holstein-Gottorp, by which the towns of Stetin and Wismar were sequestered into the hands of the King of Prussia. The administrator engaged to secure them, and all the rest of Swedish Pomerania, from the Poles and Muscovites; but, as the governor of Pomerania refused to comply with this treaty, those allies marched into the province, subdued the island of Rugen, and obliged Stetin to surrender. Then the governor consented to the sequestration, and paid to the Poles and Muscovites four hundred thousand rixdollars, to indemnify them for the expense of the siege. The King of Sweden returning from Turkey, rejected the treaty of sequestration, and insisted upon Stetin's being restored, without his repaying the money. As this monarch likewise threatened

to invade the electorate of Saxony, and chastise his false friends, King George, for the security of his German dominions, concluded a treaty with the King of Denmark; by which the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which had been taken from the Swede in his absence, were made over to his Britannic Majesty, on condition that he should immediately declare war against Sweden. Accordingly, he took possession of the duchies in October; published a declaration of war against Charles in his German dominions; and detached six thousand Hanoverians to join the Danes and Prussians in Pomerania. These allies reduced the islands of Rugen and Uledon, and attacked the towns of Wismar and Stralsund, from which last place Charles was obliged to retire in a vessel to Schonen. He assembled a body of troops with which he proposed to pass the Sound upon the ice, and attack Copenhagen; but was disappointed by a sudden thaw. Nevertheless, he refused to return to Stockholm, which he had not seen for sixteen years; but remained at Carlscroon, in order to hasten his fleet for the relief of Wismar.

§ XIV. The spirit of discontent and disaffection seemed to gain ground every day in England. Notwithstanding proclamations against riots, and orders of the justices for maintaining the peace, repeated tumults were raised by the malecontents in the cities of London and Westminster. Those who celebrated the anniversary of the King's birth-day with the usual marks of joy and festivity were insulted by the populace; but, next day, which was the anniversary of the restoration, the whole city was lighted up with

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bonfires and illuminations, and echoed with the sound of mirth and tumultuous rejoicing. The people even obliged the life-guards who patrolled through the streets, to join in the cry of "High-church and Ormond!" and in Smithfield they burned the picture of King William. Thirty persons were imprisoned for being concerned in these riots. One Bournois, a schoolmaster, who affirmed that King George had no right to the crown, was tried, and scourged through the city, with such severity, that in a few days he expired in the utmost torture. A frivolous incident served to increase the popular ferment. The shirts allowed to the first regiment of guards, commanded by the Duke of Marlborough, were so coarse, that the soldiers could hardly be persuaded to wear them. Some were thrown into the garden of the King's palace, and into that which belonged to the Duke of Marlborough. A detachment, in marching through the city, produced them to the view of the shopkeepers and passengers, exclaiming, "These are the Hanover shirts." The court being informed of this clamor, ordered those new shirts to be burned immediately; but even this sacrifice, and an advertisement published by the Duke of Marlborough in his own vindication, did not acquit that general of a suspicion that he was concerned in this mean species of speculation. A reward of fifty pounds was offered by the government to any person that would discover one Captain Wight, who, by an intercepted letter, appeared to be disaffected to King George; and Mr. George Jefferies was seized at Dublin, with a packet directed to Dr. Jonathan

Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's. Several treasonable papers being found in this packet, were transmitted to England: Jefferies was obliged to give bail for his appearance; and Swift thought proper to abscond.

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§ XV. The House of Lords, to demonstrate their abhorrence of all who should engage in conspiracies against their sovereign, rejected with indignation a petition presented to them in behalf of Blackburn, Casils, Barnarde, Meldrum, and Chambers, who had hitherto continued prisoners, for having conspired against the life of King William. On the ninth day of June, Mr. Walpole, as chairman of the secret committee, declared to the House of Commons, that the report was ready; and in the mean time moved, That a warrant might be issued by Mr. Speaker for apprehending several persons, particularly Mr. Matthew Prior and Mr. Thomas Harley, who being in the House, were immediately taken into custody. Then he recited the report, ranged under these different heads: the clandestine negociation with Monsieur Menager: the extraordinary measures pursued to form the congress at Utrecht: the trifling of the French plenipotentiaries, by the connivance of the British ministers: the negociation about the renunciation of the Spanish monarchy: the fatal suspension of arms: the seizure of Ghent and Bruges, in order to distress the allies and favor the French: the Duke of Ormond's acting in concert with the French general: the Lord Bolingbroke's journey to France, to negotiate a separate peace: Mr. Prior's and the Duke of Shrewsbury's negociation in France: the precipitate

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conclusion of the peace at Utrecht. The report being read, Sir Thomas Hanmer moved, That the consideration of it should be adjourned to a certain day; and that in the mean time the report should be printed for the perusal of the members: he was seconded by the Tories: a debate ensued; and the motion was rejected by a great majority.

§ XVI. This point being gained, Mr. Walpole impeached Henry Lord Viscount Bolingbroke of high-treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanours. Mr. Hungerford declared his opinion, that nothing mentioned in the report, in relation to Lord Bolingbroke, amounted to high-treason; and General Ross expressed the same sentiment. Then Lord Coningsby standing up, "The worthy chairman (said he) has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head: he has impeached the clerk, and I the justice: he has impeached the scholar, and I the master. I impeach Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer of high-treason, and other crimes and misdemeanours." Mr. Auditor Harley, the Earl's brother, spoke in vindication of that minister. He affirmed he had done nothing but by the immediate command of his sovereign: that the peace was a good peace, and approved as such by two parliaments; and that the facts charged to him in the report amounted only to misdemeanours: if the sanction of a parliament, which is the representative and legislature of the nation, be not sufficient to protect a minister from the vengeance of his enemies, he can have no security, Mr. Auditor Foley, the Earl's brother-in-law,

made a speech to the same purpose: Sir Joseph Jekyll, a staunch Whig, and member of the secret committee, expressed his doubt, whether they had sufficient matter or evidence to impeach the Earl of high-treason. Nevertheless, the House resolved to impeach him, without a division. When he appeared in the House of Lords next day, he found himself avoided by his brother-peers, as infectious; and retired with signs of confusion. Prior and Harley having been examined by such of the committee as were justices of the peace for Middlesex, Mr. Walpole informed the House that matters of such importance appeared in Prior's examination, that he was directed to move them for that member's being closely confined. Prior was accordingly imprisoned, and cut off from all communication. On the twenty-first day of June, Mr. Secretary Stanhope impeached James, Duke of Ormond, of high-treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanours. Mr. Archibald Hutchinson, one of the commissioners of trade, spoke in favor of the Duke. He expatiated on his noble birth and qualifications: he enumerated the great services performed to the crown and nation by his grace and his ancestors: he observed, that in the whole course of his late conduct, he had only obeyed the Queen's commands; and he affirmed that all the allegations against him could not in the rigor of the law, be construed into high-treason. Mr. Hutchinson was seconded by General Lumley, who urged that the Duke of Ormond had on all occasions given signal proofs of his affection for his country, as well as of personal

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courage; and that he had generously expended the best part of his estate, by living abroad in a most noble and splendid manner, for the honor of his sovereign. Sir Joseph Jekyll said, if there was room for mercy, he hoped it would be shown to that noble, generous, and courageous peer, who had in a course of many years exerted those great accomplishments for the good and honor of his country: that, as the statute of Edward III. on which the charge of high-treason against him was to be grounded, had been mitigated by subsequent acts, the House ought not, in his opinion, to take advantage of that act against the Duke, but only impeach him of high crimes and misdemeanours. General Ross, Sir William Wyndham, and the speakers of that party, did not abandon the Duke in this emergency: but all their arguments and eloquence were lost upon the other faction, by which they were greatly outnumbered. The question being put, was carried for the impeachment of the Duke of Ormond, who perceiving every thing conducted by a furious spirit of revenge, and that he could not expect the benefit of an impartial trial, consulted his own safety, by withdrawing himself from the kingdom. On the twenty-second day of June, the Earl of Strafford was likewise impeached by Mr. Aislaby, for having advised the fatal suspension of arms, and the seizing of Ghent and Bruges; as well as for having treated the most serene house of Hanover with insolence and contempt. He was also defended by his friends, but overpowered by his enemies.

§ XVII. When the articles against the Earl of

Oxford were read in the House, a warm debate arose upon the eleventh, by which he was charged with having advised the French King in what manner Tournay might be gained from the States-General. The question being put, Whether this article amounted to high-treason? Sir Robert Raymond, formerly solicitor-general, maintained the negative, and was supported not only by Sir William Wyndham, and the Tories, but also by Sir Joseph Jekyll. This honest patriot said it was ever his principle to do justice to every body, from the highest to the lowest; and that it was the duty of an honest man never to act by a spirit of party: that he hoped he might pretend to have some knowledge of the laws of the kingdom; and would not scruple to declare, that, in his judgment, the charge in question did not amount to high-treason. Mr. Walpole answered with great warmth, that there were several persons both in and out of the committee, who did not in the least yield to that member in point of honesty, and who were superior to him in the knowledge of the laws, yet were satisfied that the charge specified in the eleventh article amounted to high-treason. This point being decided against the Earl, and the other articles approved by the House, Lord Coningsby, attended by the Whig-members, impeached the Earl of Oxford at the bar of the House of Lords, demanding, at the same time, that he might be sequestered from parliament, and committed to safe custody. A motion was made, that the consideration of the articles might be adjourned. After a short debate the articles were read: then the Tory-

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lords moved that the judges might be consulted. The motion being rejected, another was made, that the Earl should be committed to safe custody: this occasioned another debate, in which he himself spoke to the following purpose: That the whole charge might be reduced to the negociation and conclusion of the peace: that the nation wanted a peace, he said, nobody would deny: that the conditions of this peace were as good as could be expected, considering the backwardness and reluctance which some of the allies showed to come into the Queen's measures: that the peace was approved by two successive parliaments: that he had no share in the affair at Tournay, which was wholly transacted by that unfortunate nobleman who had thought fit to step aside: that, for his own part, he always acted by the immediate directions and commands of the late Queen, without offending against any known law; and, being justified by his own conscience, was unconcerned for the life of an insignificant old man: that, if ministers of state, acting by the immediate commands of their sovereign, are afterwards to be made accountable for their proceedings, it might one day or other be the case with all the members of that august assembly: that he did not doubt their lordships, out of regard to themselves, would give him an equitable hearing: and that in the prosecution of the inquiry it would appear he had merited not only the indulgence, but even the favor of his government. "My lords (said he) I am now to take my
" leave of your lordships, and of this honorable
" House, perhaps for ever. I shall lay down my

“ life with pleasure in a cause favored by my
 “ late dear royal mistress. When I consider that I
 “ am to be judged by the justice, honor, and
 “ virtue of my peers, I shall acquiesce, and retire
 “ with great content; and, my lords, God’s will
 “ be done.” The Duke of Shrewsbury having ac-
 quainted the House that the Earl was very much in-
 disposed with the gravel, he was suffered to remain
 at his own house, in custody of the black-rod: in
 his way thither he was attended by a great multi-
 tude of people, crying, “ High-church, Ormond,
 “ and Oxford, for ever !” Next day he was brought
 to the bar, where he received a copy of the articles,
 and was allowed a month to prepare his answer.
 Though Dr. Mead declared that if the Earl should
 be sent to the Tower his life would be in danger,
 it was carried, on a division, that he should be
 conveyed thither on the sixteenth day of July.
 During the debate, the Earl of Anglesey observed
 that these impeachments were disagreeable to the
 nation; and that it was to be feared such violent
 measures would make the sceptre shake in the King’s
 hands. This expression kindled the whole House into
 a flame. Some members cried, “ To the Tower !”
 some, “ To order !” The Earl of Sunderland de-
 clared, that if these words had been spoken in
 another place he would have called the person that
 spoke them to an account: in the mean time, he
 moved that the noble lord should explain himself.
 Anglesey, dreading the resentment of the House,
 was glad to make an apology; which was accepted.
 The Earl of Oxford was attended to the Tower

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by a prodigious concourse of people, who did not scruple to exclaim against his persecutors. Tumults were raised in Staffordshire, and other parts of the kingdom, against the Whig-party, which had depressed the friends of the church, and embroiled the nation. The House of Commons presented an address to the King, desiring that the laws might be vigorously executed against the rioters. They prepared the proclamation-act, decreeing that if any persons, to the number of twelve, unlawfully assembled, should continue together one hour after having been required to disperse by a justice of peace or other officer, and heard the proclamation against riots read in public, they should be deemed guilty of felony without benefit of clergy.

§ XVIII. When the King went to the House of Peers, on the twentieth day of July, to give the royal assent to this, and some other bills, he told both Houses, that a rebellion was actually begun at home; and that the nation was threatened with an invasion from abroad. He, therefore, expected that the Commons would not leave the kingdom in a defenceless condition, but enable him to take such measures as should be necessary for the public safety. Addresses in the usual style were immediately presented by the parliament, the convocation, the common-council and lieutenancy of London, and the two universities: but that of Oxford was received in the most contemptuous manner; and the deputies were charged with disloyalty, on account of a fray which had happened between some recruiting

recruiting officers and the scholars of the university. The addressees from the kirk of Scotland, and the dissenting ministers of London and Westminster, met with a much more gracious reception. The parliament forthwith passed a bill, empowering the King to secure suspected persons, and to suspend the Habeas Corpus act in that time of danger. A clause was added to a money-bill, offering the reward of one hundred thousand pounds to such as should seize the Pretender, dead or alive. Sir George Byng was sent to take the command of the fleet; General Erle repaired to his government of Portsmouth: the guards were encamped in Hyde-Park: Lord Irwin was appointed governor of Hull, in the room of Brigadier Sutton, who, together with Lord Windsor, the Generals Ross, Webb, and Stuart, were dismissed from the service. Orders were given for raising thirteen regiments of dragoons, and eight of infantry; and the trained-bands were kept in readiness to suppress tumults. In the midst of these transactions the Commons added six articles to those exhibited against the Earl of Oxford. Lord Bolingbroke was impeached at the bar of the House of Lords by Mr. Walpole. Bills being brought in to summon him and the Duke of Ormond to surrender themselves by the tenth of September, or, in default thereof, to attain them of high-treason, they passed both Houses, and received the royal assent. On the last day of August, the Commons agreed to the articles against the Earl of Strafford, which being presented to the House of Lords, the Earl made a speech in his own vindication.

B O O K He complained that his papers had been seized in an
II. unprecedented manner. He said, if he had in his
1715. letters or discourse dropped any unguarded expressions against some foreign ministers, while he had the honor to represent the crown of Great-Britain, he hoped they would not be accounted criminal by a British House of Peers: he desired he might be allowed a competent time to answer the articles brought against him, and have duplicates of all the papers which had either been laid before the committee of secrecy, or remained in the hands of government, to be used occasionally in his justification. This request was vehemently opposed by the leaders of the other party, until the Earl of Ilay represented that, in all civilized nations, all courts of judicature, except the Inquisition, allowed the persons arraigned all that was necessary for their justification; and that the House of Peers of Great-Britain ought not, in this case, to do any thing contrary to that honor and equity for which they were so justly renowned throughout all Europe. This observation made an impression on the House, which resolved that the Earl should be indulged with copies of such papers as he might have occasion to use in his defence.

§ XIX. On the third day of September, Oxford's answer was delivered to the House of Lords, who transmitted it to the Commons. Mr. Walpole, having heard it read, said it contained little more than a repetition of what had been suggested in some pamphlets and papers which had been published in vindication of the late ministry: that it was a false and malicious libel, laying upon his royal mistress

the blame of all the pernicious measures he had led her into, against her own honor, and the good of his country: that it was likewise a libel on the proceedings of the Commons, since he endeavoured to clear those persons who had already confessed their guilt by flight. After some debate, the House resolved, That the answer of Robert Earl of Oxford should be referred to the committee appointed to draw up articles of impeachment, and prepare evidence against the impeached Lords; and that the committee should prepare a replication to the answer. This was accordingly prepared, and sent up to the Lords. Then the committee reported, That Mr. Prior had grossly prevaricated on his examination, and behaved with great contempt of their authority. The Duke of Ormond and Lord Viscount Bolingbroke having omitted to surrender themselves within the time limited, the House of Lords ordered the Earl-Marshal to rase out of the list of peers their names and armorial bearings. Inventories were taken of their personal estates; and the Duke's achievement, as knight of the garter, was taken down from St. George's chapel at Windsor. A man of candor cannot, without an emotion of grief and indignation, reflect upon the ruin of the noble family of Ormond, in the person of a brave, generous, and humane nobleman, to whom no crime was imputed, but that of having obeyed the command of his sovereign. About this period the royal assent was given to an act for encouraging loyalty in Scotland. By this law the tenant who continued peaceable while his lord took arms in favor of the

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Pretender, was invested with the property of the lands he rented: on the other hand, it was decreed that the lands possessed by any person guilty of high-treason should revert to the superior of whom they were held, and be consolidated with the superiority; and that all entails and settlements of estates, since the first day of August, in favor of children, with a fraudulent intent to avoid the punishment of the law due to the offence of high-treason, should be null and void. It likewise contained a clause for summoning suspected persons to find bail for their good behaviour, on pain of being denounced rebels. By virtue of this clause all the heads of the Jacobite clans, and other suspected persons, were summoned to Edinburgh; and those who did not appear were declared rebels.

§ XX. By this time the rebellion was actually begun in Scotland. The dissensions occasioned in that country by the Union had never been wholly appeased. Even since the Queen's death, addresses were prepared in different parts of Scotland against the Union, which was deemed a national grievance; and the Jacobites did not fail to encourage this aversion. Though their hopes of dissolving that treaty were baffled by the industry and other arts of the Revolutioners, who secured a majority of Whigs in parliament, they did not lay aside their designs of attempting something of consequence in favor of the Pretender; but maintained a correspondence with the malecontents of England, a great number of whom were driven by apprehension, hard usage, and resentment into a system of politics, which otherwise they would not have espoused.

The Tories finding themselves totally excluded from any share in the government and legislature, and exposed to the insolence and fury of a faction which they despised, began to wish in earnest for a revolution. Some of them held private consultations, and communicated with the Jacobites, who conveyed their sentiments to the Chevalier de St. George, with such exaggerations as were dictated by their own eagerness and extravagance. They assured the Pretender that the nation was wholly disaffected to the new government; and, indeed, the clamors, tumults, and conversation of the people in general countenanced this assertion. They promised to take arms without further delay in his favor; and engaged that the Tories should join them at his first landing in Great-Britain. They, the refore, besought him to come over with all possible expedition, declaring that his appearance would produce an immediate revolution. The Chevalier resolved to take the advantage of this favorable disposition. He had recourse to the French King, who had always been the refuge of his family. Louis favored him in secret; and, notwithstanding his late engagements with England, cherished the ambition of raising him to the throne of Great-Britain. He supplied him privately with sums of money, to prepare a small armament in the port of Havre, which was equipped in the name of Depine d'Anicaut; and, without all doubt, his design was to assist him more effectually, in proportion as the English should manifest their attachment to the house of Stuart. The Duke of Ormond and

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Lord Bolinbroke, who had retired to France, finding themselves condemned unheard, and attainted, engaged in the service of the Chevalier, and corresponded with the Tories of England.

§ XXI. All these intrigues and machinations were discovered and communicated to the court of London by the Earl of Stair, who then resided as English ambassador at Paris. He was a nobleman of unquestioned honor and integrity, generous, humane, discerning, and resolute. He had signalized himself by his valor, intrepidity, and other military talents, during the war in the Netherlands; and he now acted in another sphere with uncommon vigor, vigilance, and address. He detected the Chevalier's scheme while it was yet in embryo, and gave such early notice of it as enabled the King of Great-Britain to take effectual measures for defeating the design. All the Pretender's interest in France expired with Louis XIV. that ostentatious tyrant, who had for above half a century sacrificed the repose of Christendom to his insatiate vanity and ambition. At his death, which happened on the first day of September, the regency of the kingdom devolved to the Duke of Orleans, who adopted a new system of politics, and had already entered into engagements with the King of Great-Britain. Instead of assisting the Pretender, he amused his agents with mysterious and equivocal expressions, calculated to frustrate the design of the expedition. Nevertheless, the more violent part of the Jacobites in Great-Britain, believed he was at bottom a friend to their cause; and depended upon him for succour. They even extorted from him a sum of money by

dint of importunities, and some arms; but the vessel was shipwrecked, and the cargo lost upon the coast of Scotland.

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§ XXII. The partisans of the Pretender had proceeded too far to retreat with safety; and, therefore, resolved to try their fortune in the field. The Earl of Mar repaired to the Highlands, where he held consultations with the Marquisses of Huntley and Tullibardine, the Earls Marischal and Southesk, the Generals Hamilton and Gordon, with the chiefs of the Jacobite clans. Then he assembled three hundred of his own vassals; proclaimed the Pretender at Castletown, and set up his standard at Brae-Mar, on the sixth day of September. By this time the Earls of Home, Wigtoun, and Kinnoul, Lord Deskford, and Lockhart of Carnwath, with other persons suspected of disaffection to the present government, were committed prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh; and Major-General Whetham marched with the regular troops which were in that kingdom to secure the bridge at Stirling. Before these precautions were taken, two vessels had arrived at Arbroath from Havre, with arms, ammunition, and a great number of officers, who assured the Earl of Mar, that the Pretender would soon be with them in person. The death of Louis XIV. struck a general damp upon their spirits; but they laid their account with being joined by a powerful body in England. The Earl of Mar, by letters and messages, pressed the Chevalier to come over without further delay. He, in the mean time, assumed the title of lieutenant-general of the

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Pretender's forces, and published a declaration, exhorting the people to take arms for their lawful sovereign. This was followed by a shrewd manifesto, explaining the national grievances, and assuring the people of redress. Some of his partisans attempted to surprise the castle of Edinburgh; but were prevented by the vigilance and activity of Colonel Stuart, lieutenant-governor of that fortress. The Duke of Argyle set out for Scotland as commander in chief of the forces in North-Britain: the Earl of Sutherland set sail in the Queenborough ship of war for the North, where he proposed to raise his vassals for the service of government; and many other Scottish peers returned to their own country, in order to signalize their loyalty to King George.

§ XXIII. In England the practices of the Jacobites did not escape the notice of the ministry. Lieutenant-Colonel Paul was imprisoned in the Gate-house, for enlisting men in the service of the Pretender. The titular Duke of Powis was committed to the Tower: Lords Lansdown and Duplin were taken into custody: and a warrant was issued for apprehending the Earl of Jersey. The King desired the consent of the Lower House to seize and detain Sir William Wyndham, Sir John Packington, Mr. Edward Harvey, of Combe; Mr. Thomas Foster, Mr. John Anstis, and Mr. Corbet Kynaston, who were members of the House, and suspected of favoring the invasion. The Commons unanimously agreed to the proposal, and presented an address, signifying their approbation. Harvey and Anstis

were immediately secured. Forster, with the assistance of some popish lords, assembled a body of men in Northumberland: Sir John Packington being examined before the council, was dismissed for want of evidence: Mr. Kynaston absconded: Sir William Wyndham was seized at his own house in Somersetshire, by Colonel Huske and a messenger, who secured his papers: he found means, however, to escape from them; but afterwards surrendered himself, and, having been examined at the council-board, was committed to the Tower. His father-in-law, the Duke of Somerset, offered to become bound for his appearance; and being rejected as bail, expressed his resentment so warmly, that the King thought proper to remove him from the office of master of the horse. On the twenty-first day of September, the King went to the House of Lords, and passed the bills that were ready for the royal assent. Then the Chancellor read his Majesty's speech, expressing his acknowledgment and satisfaction in consequence of the uncommon marks of their affection he had received; and the parliament adjourned to the sixth day of October.

§ XXIV. The Friends of the house of Stuart were very numerous in the western counties, and began to make preparations for an insurrection. They had concealed some arms and artillery at Bath, and formed a design to surprise Bristol: but they were betrayed and discovered by the emissaries of the government; which baffled all their schemes, and apprehended every person of consequence suspected of attachment to that cause. The university of Oxford felt the

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rod of power on that occasion. Major-General Pepper, with a strong detachment of dragoons, took possession of the city at day-break, declaring he would use military execution on all students who should presume to appear without the limits of their respective colleges. He seized ten or eleven persons, among whom was one Lloyd, a coffeeman, and made prize of some horses and furniture belonging to Colonel Owen, and other gentlemen. With this booty he retreated to Abingdon; and Handasyde's regiment of foot was afterwards quartered in Oxford, to overawe the university. The ministry found it more difficult to suppress the insurgents in the northern counties. In the month of October the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster took the field with a body of horse, and being joined by some gentlemen from the borders of Scotland, proclaimed the Pretender in Warkworth, Morpeth, and Alnwick. The first design was to seize the town of Newcastle, in which they had many friends; but they found the gates shut upon them, and retired to Hexham; while General Carpenter having assembled a body of dragoons, resolved to march from Newcastle, and attack them before they should be re-enforced. The rebels retiring northward to Woller, were joined by two hundred Scottish horse under the Lord Viscount Kenmuir, and the Earls of Carnwath and Wintoun, who had set up the Pretender's standard at Moffat, and proclaimed him in different parts of Scotland. The rebels thus re-enforced advanced to Kelso, having received advice that they would be joined by Mackintosh, who had crossed the Forth with a body of Highlanders.

§ XXV. By this time the Earl of Mar was at the head of ten thousand men well armed. He had secured the pass of the Tay at Perth, where his headquarters were established, and made himself master of the whole fruitful province of Fife, and all the sea-coast on that side of the Frith of Edinburgh. He selected two thousand five hundred men, commanded by Brigadier Mackintosh, to make a descent upon the Lothian side, and join the Jacobites in that county, or such as should take arms on the borders of England. Boats were assembled for this purpose; and, notwithstanding all the precautions that could be taken by the King's ships in the Frith, to prevent the design, above five hundred chosen men made good their passage in the night, and landed on the coast of Lothian, having crossed an arm of the sea about sixteen miles broad, in open boats that passed through the midst of the King's cruisers. Nothing could be better concerted, or executed with more conduct and courage, than was this hazardous enterprise. They amused the King's ships with marches and counter-marches along the coast, in such a manner that they could not possibly know where they intended to embark. The Earl of Mar in the mean time, marched from Perth to Dumblaine, as if he had intended to cross the Forth at Stirling-bridge: but his real design was to divert the Duke of Argyle from attacking his detachment which he landed in Lothian. So far the scheme succeeded. The Duke, who had assembled some troops in Lothian, returned to Stirling with the utmost expedition, after having secured Edinburgh, and obliged Mackintosh

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to abandon his design on that city. This partisan had actually taken possession of Leith, from whence he retired to Seaton-house, near Preston-Pans, which he fortified in such a manner that he could not be forced without artillery. Here he remained until he received an order across the Frith from the Earl of Mar, to join Lord Kenmuir and the English at Kelso, to which place he immediately began his march, and reached it on the twenty-second day of October, though a good number of his men had deserted on the route.

§ XXVI. The Lord Kenmuir, with the Earls of Wintoun, Nithsdale, and Carnwath; the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster, with the English insurgents, arriving at the same time, a council of war was immediately called. Wintoun proposed that they should march immediately into the western parts of Scotland, and join General Gordon, who commanded a strong body of Highlanders in Argyleshire. The English insisted upon crossing the Tweed, and attacking General Carpenter, whose troops did not exceed nine hundred dragoons. Neither scheme was executed. They took the route to Jedburgh, where they resolved to leave Carpenter on one side, and penetrate into England by the western border. The Highlanders declared they would not quit their own country; but were ready to execute the scheme proposed by the Earl of Wintoun. Means, however, were found to prevail upon one half of them to advance, while the rest returned to the Highlands. At Brampton, Forster opened his commission of general, which had been sent to him from the Earl of Mar,

and proclaimed the Pretender. They continued their march to Penrith, where the sheriff, assisted by the Lord Lonsdale and the Bishop of Carlisle, had assembled the whole posse-comitatus of Cumberland, amounting to twelve thousand men, who dispersed with the utmost precipitation at the approach of the rebels. From Penrith, Forster proceeded by the way of Kendal and Lancaster to Preston, from whence Stanhope's regiment of dragoons, and another of militia, immediately retired; so that he took possession of the place without resistance. General Willis marched against the enemy with six regiments of horse and dragoons, and one battalion of foot commanded by Colonel Preston. They had advanced to the bridge of Ribble before Forster received intelligence of their approach. He forthwith began to raise barricadoes, and put the place in a posture of defence. On the twelfth day of November, the town was briskly attacked in two different places: but the King's troops met with a very warm reception, and were repulsed with considerable loss. Next day General Carpenter arrived with a re-enforcement of three regiments of dragoons; and the rebels were invested on all sides. The Highlanders declared they would make a sally sword in hand, and either cut their way through the King's troops, or perish in the attempt; but they were over-ruled. Forster sent Colonel Oxburgh with a trumpet, to General Willis, to propose a capitulation. He was given to understand, that the general would not treat with rebels; but in case of their surrendering at discretion he would prevent his soldiers from

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putting them to the sword, until he should receive further orders. He granted them time to consider till next morning, upon their delivering the Earl of Derwentwater and Mackintosh as hostages. When Forster submitted, this Highlander declared he could not promise that the Scots would surrender in that manner. The general desired him to return to his people, and he would forthwith attack the town, in which case every man of them should be cut in pieces. The Scottish noblemen did not chuse to run the risque; and persuaded the Highlanders to accept the terms that were offered. They accordingly laid down their arms, and were put under a strong guard. All the noblemen and leaders were secured. Major Nairn, Captain Lockhart, Captain Shaftoe, and Ensign Erskine, were tried by a court-martial as deserters, and executed. Lord Charles Murray, son of the Duke of Athol, was likewise condemned for the same crime, but reprieved. The common men were imprisoned at Chester and Liverpool; the noblemen and considerable officers were sent to London, conveyed through the streets pinioned like malefactors, and committed to the Tower and to Newgate.

§ XXVII. The day on which the rebels surrendered at Preston was remarkable for the battle of Dumblaine, fought between the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Mar, who commanded the Pretender's forces. This nobleman had retreated to his camp at Perth, when he understood the Duke was returned from Lothian to Stirling. But being now joined by the northern clans under the Earl of Seaforth, and

those of the west commanded by General Gordon, who had signalized himself in the service of the Czar of Muscovy, he resolved to pass the Forth, in order to join his southern friends, that they might march together into England. With this view he advanced to Auchterarder, where he reviewed his army, and rested on the eleventh day of November. The Duke of Argyle, apprized of his intention, and being joined by some regiments of dragoons from Ireland, determined to give him battle in the neighbourhood of Dumblaine. On the twelfth day of the month, Argyle passed the Forth at Stirling, and encamped with his left at the village of Dumblaine, and his right towards Sheriff-moor. The Earl of Mar advanced within two miles of his camp, and remained till day-break in order of battle; his army consisting of nine thousand effective men, cavalry as well as infantry. In the morning, the Duke, understanding they were in motion, drew up his forces, which did not exceed three thousand five hundred men, on the heights to the north-east of Dumblaine: but he was outflanked both on the right and left. The clans that formed part of the centre and right wing of the enemy, with Glengary and Clanronald at their head, charged the left of the King's army sword in hand, with such impetuosity, that in seven minutes both horse and foot were totally routed with great slaughter; and General Whetham, who commanded them, fled at full gallop to Stirling, where he declared that the royal army was totally defeated. In the mean time, the Duke of Argyle, who commanded in person on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, at the head of Stair's and Evans's

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dragoons, and drove them two miles before him, as far at the water of Allan: yet in that space they wheeled about, and attempted to rally ten times; so that he was obliged to press them hard, that they might not recover from their confusion. Brigadier Wightman followed, in order to sustain him with three battalions of infantry; while the victorious right wing of the rebels, having pursued Whetham a considerable way, returned to the field, and formed in the rear of Wightman, to the amount of five thousand men. The Duke of Argyle, returning from the pursuit, joined Wightman, who had faced about, and taken possession of some enclosures and mud-walls, in expectation of being attacked. In this posture both armies fronted each other till the evening, when the Duke drew off towards Dumblaine, and the rebels retired to Ardoch, without mutual molestation. Next day, the Duke marching back to the field of battle, carried off the wounded, with four pieces of cannon left by the enemy, and retreated to Stirling. Few prisoners were taken on either side: the number of the slain might be above five hundred of each army; and both generals claimed the victory. This battle was not so fatal to the Highlanders as the loss of Inverness, from which Sir John Mackenzie was driven by Simon Frazer Lord Lovat, who, contrary to the principles he had hitherto professed, secured this important post for the government; by which means a free communication was opened with the North of Scotland, where the Earl of Sutherland had raised a considerable body of vassals. The

The Marquis of Huntley and the Earl of Seaforth were obliged to quit the rebel army, in order to defend their own territories; and in a little time submitted to King George: a good number of the Frazers declared with their chief against the Pretender: the Marquis of Tullibardine withdrew from the army, to cover his own country; and the clans, seeing no likelihood of another action, began to disperse, according to custom.

§ XXVIII. The government was now in a condition to send strong re-enforcements to Scotland. Six thousand men that were claimed of the States-General, by virtue of the treaty, landed in England, and began their march for Edinburgh: General Cadogan set out for the same place, together with Brigadier Petit, and six other engineers; and a train of artillery was shipped at the Tower for that country, the Duke of Argyle resolving to drive the Earl of Mar out of Perth, to which town he had retired with the remains of his forces. The Pretender having been amused with the hope of seeing the whole kingdom of England rise up as one man in his behalf; and the Duke of Ormond having made a fruitless voyage to the western coast, to try the disposition of the people, he was now convinced of the want of his expectation in that quarter; and he knew not what other course to take, resolved to hazard his person among his friends in Scotland, at a time when his affairs in that kingdom were absolutely desperate. From Bretagne he posted through part of France, in disguise, and embarking in a small vessel at Dunkirk, hired for that purpose, arrived

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on the twenty-second day of December at Peterhead, with six gentlemen in his retinue, one of whom was the Marquis of Tinmouth, son to the Duke of Berwick. He passed through Aberdeen incognito, to Fetterosse, where he was met by the Earls of Mar and Marischal, and about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of the first quality. Here he was solemnly proclaimed: his declaration, dated at Commercy, was printed and circulated through all the parts in that neighbourhood; and he received addresses from the episcopal clergy, and the laity of that communion in the diocese of Aberdeen. On the fifth day of January, he made his public entry into Dundee; and on the seventh arrived at Scone, where he seemed determined to stay until the ceremony of his coronation should be performed. From thence he made an excursion to Perth, where he reviewed his forces. Then he formed a regular council; and published six proclamations; one for a general thanksgiving, on account of his safe arrival; another enjoining the ministers to pray for him in churches; a third establishing the currency of foreign coins; a fourth summoning the meeting of the convention of estates; a fifth ordering all gentlemen to repair to his standard; and a sixth, fixing the twentieth day of January for his coronation. He made a pathetic speech in a grand-council, at which all the chiefs of his party assisted. They determined, however, to abandon the enterprise, as the King's army was re-entrenched by the Dutch auxiliaries, and they themselves were not only reduced to a small number, but likewise

destitute of money, arms, ammunition, forage, and provision; for the Duke of Argyle had taken possession of Burnt-island, and transported a detachment to Fife, so as to cut off Mar's communication with that fertile country.

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§ XXIX. Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, and a prodigious fall of snow, which rendered the roads almost impassable, the Duke, on the twenty-ninth of January, began his march to Dumblaine, and next day reached Tullibardine, where he received intelligence that the Pretender and his forces had, on the preceding day, retired towards Dundee. He forthwith took possession of Perth; and then began his march to Aberbrothick, in pursuit of the enemy. The Chevalier de St. George, being thus hotly pursued, was prevailed upon to embark on board a small French ship that lay in the harbour of Montrose. He was accompanied by the Earls of Mar and Melfort, the Lord Drummond, Lieutenant-General Bulkley, and other persons of distinction, to the number of seventeen. In order to avoid the English cruisers, they stretched over to Norway, and coasting along the German and Dutch shores, arrived in five days at Graveline. General Gordon, whom the Pretender had left commander in chief of the forces, assisted by the Earl Marischal, proceeded with them to Aberdeen, where he secured three vessels to sail northward, and take on board the persons who intended to make their escape to the continent. Then they continued their march through Strathspey and Strathdown, to the hills of Badenoch, where the common people were

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quietly dismissed. This retreat was made with such expedition, that the Duke of Argyle, with all his activity, could never overtake their rear-guard, which consisted of a thousand horse, commanded by the Earl Marischal. Such was the issue of a rebellion that proved fatal to many noble families: a rebellion which, in all probability, would never have happened, had not the violent measures of a Whig-ministry kindled such a flame of discontent in the nation, as encouraged the partisans of the Pretender to hazard a revolt.

§ XXX. The parliament of Ireland, which met at Dublin on the twelfth day of November, seemed even more zealous, if possible, than that of England, for the present administration. They passed bills for recognising the King's title; for the security of his person and government; for setting a price on the Pretender's head; and for attainting the Duke of Ormond. They granted the supplies without opposition. All those who had addressed the late Queen in favor of Sir Constantine Phipps, then lord chancellor of Ireland, were now brought upon their knees, and censured as guilty of a breach of privilege. They desired the lords-justices would issue a proclamation against the popish inhabitants of Limerick and Galway, who, presuming upon the capitulation signed by King William, claimed an exemption from the penalties imposed upon other papists. They engaged in an association against the Pretender, and all his abettors. They voted the Earl of Anglesey an enemy to the King and kingdom, because he advised the Queen to break the

army, and prorogue the late parliament; and they addressed the King to remove him from his council and service. The lords-justices granted orders for apprehending the Earls of Antrim and Westmeath, the Lords Natterville, Cahir, and Dillon, as persons suspected of disaffection to the government. Then they adjourned the two Houses.

§ XXXI. The King, in his speech to the English parliament, which met on the ninth of January, told them he had reason to believe the Pretender was landed in Scotland: he congratulated them on the success of his arms in suppressing the rebellion: on the conclusion of the barrier-treaty between the Emperor and the States-General, under his guarantee: on a convention with Spain that would deliver the trade of England to that kingdom from the new impositions and hardships to which it was subjected in consequence of the late treaties. He likewise gave them to understand, that a treaty for renewing all former alliances between the crown of Great-Britain and the States-General was almost concluded; and he assured the Commons he would freely give up all the estates that should become forfeited to the crown by this rebellion, to be applied towards defraying the extraordinary expense incurred on this occasion. The Commons, in their address of thanks, declared that they would prosecute, in the most vigorous and impartial manner, the authors of those destructive councils which had drawn such miseries upon the nation. Their resolutions were speedy, and exactly conformable to this declaration. They expelled Mr. Forster from

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the House. They forthwith impeached the Earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Wintoun; Lords Widdrington, Kenmuir, and Nairn. These noblemen being brought to the bar of the House of Lords, heard the articles of impeachment read on the tenth day of January, and were ordered to put in their answers on the sixteenth. The impeachments being lodged, the Lower House ordered a bill to be brought in for continuing the suspension of the Habeas-Corpus-act: then they prepared another to attain the Marquis of Tullibardine, the Earls of Mar and Linlithgow, and Lord John Drummond. On the twenty-first day of January, the King gave the royal assent to the bill for continuing the suspension of the Habeas-Corpus-act. He told the parliament that the Pretender was actually in Scotland, heading the rebellion, and assuming the style and title of king of these realms: he demanded of the Commons such supply as might discourage any foreign power from assisting the rebels. On Thursday the nineteenth day of January, all the impeached lords pleaded guilty to the articles exhibited against them, except the Earl of Wintoun, who petitioned for a longer time, on various pretences. The rest received sentence of death on the ninth day of February, in the court erected in Westminster-Hall, where the Lord-Chancellor Cowper presided as lord high-steward on that occasion. The Countess of Nithsdale and Lady Nairn threw themselves at the King's feet, as he passed through the apartments of the palace, and implored his mercy in behalf of their husbands: but

their tears and entreaties produced no effect. The council resolved that the sentence should be executed, and orders were given for that purpose to the Lieutenant of the Tower, and the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex.

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§ XXXII. The Countess of Derwentwater, with her sister, accompanied by the Duchesses of Cleveland and Bolton, and several other ladies of the first distinction, was introduced by the Dukes of Richmond and St. Alban's into the King's bed-chamber, where she invoked his Majesty's clemency for her unfortunate consort. She afterwards repaired to the lobby of the House of Peers, attended by the ladies of the other condemned lords, and above twenty others of the same quality, and begged the intercession of the House: but no regard was paid to their petition. Next day, they petitioned both Houses of parliament. The Commons rejected their suit. In the Upper-House, the Duke of Richmond delivered a petition from the Earl of Derwentwater, to whom he was nearly related, at the same time declaring that he himself should oppose his solicitation. The Earl of Derby expressed some compassion for the numerous family of Lord Nairn. Petitions from the rest were presented by other lords, moved with pity and humanity. Lord Townshend and others vehemently opposed their being read. The Earl of Nottingham thought this indulgence might be granted: the House assented to his opinion; and agreed to an address, praying his Majesty would reprieve such of the condemned lords as should seem to deserve his mercy. To

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this petition the King answered, That on this and all other occasions he would do what he thought most consistent with the dignity of his crown and the safety of his people. The Earl of Nottingham, president of the council, his brother the Earl of Aylesbury, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, his son Lord Finch, one of the lords of the Treasury, his kinsman Lord Guernsey, master of the jewel-office, were altogether dismissed from his Majesty's service. Orders were dispatched for executing the Earls of Derwentwater and Nithsdale, and the Viscount of Kenmuir, immediately: the others were respited to the seventh day of March. Nithsdale made his escape in women's apparel, furnished and conveyed to him by his own mother. On the twenty-fourth day of February, Derwentwater and Kenmuir were beheaded on Tower-Hill. The former was an amiable youth, brave, open, generous, hospitable, and humane. His fate drew tears from the spectators, and was a great misfortune to the country in which he lived. He gave bread to multitudes of people whom he employed on his estate: the poor, the widow, and the orphan rejoiced in his bounty. Kenmuir was a virtuous nobleman, calm, sensible, resolute, and resigned. He was a devout member of the English church; but the other died in the faith of Rome; both adhered to their political principles. On the fifteenth day of March, Wintoun was brought to trial, and being convicted received sentence of death⁵.

⁵ Annals. Bolingbroke. Patten. Deb. in Par. Tindal, State - Trials.

§ XXXIII. When the King passed the land-tax bill, which was ushered in with a very extraordinary preamble, he informed both Houses of the Pretender's flight from Scotland. In the beginning of April, a commission for trying the rebels met in the court of Common-Pleas, when bills of high-treason were found against Mr. Forster, Mackintosh, and twenty of their confederates. Forster escaped from Newgate, and reached the continent in safety: the rest pleaded Not-guilty, and were indulged with time to prepare for their trials. The judges appointed to try the rebels at Liverpool found a considerable number guilty of high-treason. Two-and-twenty were executed at Preston and Manchester: about a thousand prisoners submitted to the King's mercy, and petitioned for transportation. Pitts, the keeper of Newgate, being suspected of having connived at Forster's escape, was tried for his life at the Old-Bailey, and acquitted. Notwithstanding this prosecution, which ought to have redoubled the vigilance of the jailors, Brigadier Mackintosh, and several other prisoners, broke from Newgate, after having mastered the keeper and turnkey, and disarmed the sentinel. The court proceeded with the trials of those that remained; and a great number were found guilty: four or five were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Tyburn: and among these was one William Paul, a clergyman, who, in his last speech, professed himself a true and sincere member of the church of England, but not of the revolution schismatical church, whose bishops had abandoned the

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King, and shamefully given up their ecclesiastical rights, by submitting to the unlawful, invalid, lay-deprivations authorized by the Prince of Orange.

§ XXXIV. Though the rebellion was extinguished, the flame of national dissatisfaction still continued to rage: the severities exercised against the rebels increased the general discontent: for now the danger was blown over their humane passions began to prevail. The courage and fortitude with which the condemned persons encountered the pains of death in its most dreadful form prepossessed many spectators in favor of the cause by which those unhappy victims were animated. In a word, persecution, as usual, extended the heresy. The ministry perceiving this universal disaffection, and dreading the revolution of a new parliament, which might wrest the power from their faction, and retort upon them the violence of their own measures, formed a resolution equally odious and effectual to establish their administration. This was no other than a scheme to repeal the triennial act, and by a new law to extend the term of parliaments to seven years. On the tenth day of April, the Duke of Devonshire represented, in the House of Lords, that triennial elections served to keep up party divisions; to raise and foment feuds in private families; to produce ruinous expenses, and give occasion to the cabals and intrigues of foreign princes: that it became the wisdom of such an august assembly to apply proper remedies to an evil that might be attended with the most dangerous consequences, especially in the present temper of the nation, as the spirit of rebellion

still remained unconquered. He therefore, proposed a bill for enlarging the continuance of parliaments. He was seconded by the Earls of Dorset and Rockingham, the Duke of Argyle, Lord Townshend, and the other chiefs of that party. The motion was opposed by the Earls of Nottingham, Abingdon, and Paulet. They observed that frequent parliaments were required by the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, ascertained in the practice of many ages: that the members of the Lower House were chosen by the body of the nation, for a certain term of years, at the expiration of which they could be no longer representatives of the people, who, by the parliament's protracting its own authority, would be deprived of the only remedy which they have against those who through ignorance or corruption, betrayed the trust reposed in them: that the reasons in favor of such a bill were weak and frivolous: that, with respect to foreign alliances, no prince or state could reasonably depend upon a people to defend their liberties and interests who should be thought to have given up so great a part of their own: nor would it be prudent in them to wish for a change in that constitution under which Europe had of late been so powerfully supported: on the contrary, they might be deterred from entering into any engagements with Great-Britain, when informed by the preamble of the bill, that the popish faction was so dangerous as to threaten destruction to the government: they would apprehend that the administration was so weak as to want so extraordinary a provision for its

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safety: that the gentlemen of Britain were not to be trusted; and that the good affections of the people were restrained within the limits of the House of Commons. They affirmed that this bill, far from preventing the expense of elections, would rather increase it, and encourage every species of corruption; for the value of a seat would always be in proportion to the duration of a parliament; and the purchase would rise accordingly: that a long parliament would yield a greater temptation, as well as a better opportunity to a vicious ministry, to corrupt the members, than they could possibly have when the parliaments were short and frequent: that the same reasons urged for passing the bill to continue this parliament for seven years would be at least as strong, and, by the conduct of the ministry, might be made much stronger before the end of that term, for continuing, and even perpetuating their legislative power, to the absolute subversion of the third estate of the realm. These arguments served only to form a decent debate, after which the bill for septennial parliaments passed by a great majority; though twenty peers entered a protest. It met with the same fate in the Lower House, where many strong objections were started to no purpose. They were represented as the effects of party-spleen; and, indeed, this was the great spring of action on both sides. The question for the bill was carried in the affirmative; and in a little time it received the royal sanction.

§ XXXV. The rebellion being utterly quelled, and all the suspected persons of consequence detained in safe custody, the King resolved to visit his German

dominions, where he foresaw a storm gathering from the quarter of Sweden. Charles XII. was extremely exasperated against the Elector of Hanover, for having entered into the confederacy against him in his absence, particularly for his having purchased the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which constituted part of his dominions; and he breathed nothing but revenge against the King of Great-Britain. It was with a view to avert this danger, or prepare against it, that the King now determined upon a voyage to the continent. But as he was restricted from leaving his British dominions, by the act for the further limitation of the crown, this clause was repealed in a new bill that passed through both Houses without the least difficulty. On the twenty-sixth day of June, the King closed the session with a speech upon the usual topics, in which however, he observed that the numerous instances of mercy he had shown served only to encourage the faction of the Pretender, whose partisans acted with such insolence and folly, as if they intended to convince the world that they were not to be reclaimed by gentle methods. He intimated his purpose of visiting his dominions in Germany; and gave them to understand, that he had constituted his beloved son, the Prince of Wales, guardian of the kingdom in his absence. About this period, General Macartney, who had returned to England at the accession of King George, presented himself to trial for the murder of the Duke of Hamilton. The deposition of Colonel Hamilton was contradicted by two park-keepers: the General was acquitted

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of the charge, restored to his rank in the army, and gratified with the command of a regiment. The King's brother, Prince Ernest, Bishop of Osnabruck, was created Duke of York and Albany, and Earl of Ulster. The Duke of Argyle, and his brother the Earl of Ilay, to whom his Majesty owed, in a great measure, his peaceable accession to the throne, as well as the extinction of the rebellion in Scotland, were now dismissed from all their employments. General Carpenter succeeded the Duke in the chief command of the forces in North-Britain, and in the government of Port-Mahon; and the Duke of Montrose was appointed lord-register of Scotland, in the room of the Earl of Ilay.

§ XXXVI. On the seventh day of July, the King embarked at Gravesend, landed on the ninth in Holland through which he passed incognito to Hanover, and from thence set out for Pyrmont. His aim was to secure his German dominions from the Swede, and Great-Britain from the Pretender. These two princes had already begun to form a design, in conjunction, of invading his kingdom. He knew the Duke of Orleans was resolved to ascend the throne of France, in case the young King, who was a sickly child, should die without male issue. The Regent was not ignorant that Philip of Spain would powerfully contest that succession, notwithstanding his renunciation; and he was glad of an opportunity to strengthen his interest by an alliance with the maritime powers of England and Holland. The King of England sounded him on this subject, and found him eager to engage in

such an association. The negotiation was carried on by General Cadogan for England, the Abbé du Bois for France, and the Pensionary Heinsius for the States-General. The Regent readily complied with all their demands. He engaged that the Pretender should immediately depart from Avignon to the other side of the Alps, and never return to Lorraine or France on any pretence whatsoever: that no rebellious subjects of Great-Britain should be allowed to reside in that kingdom: and that the treaty of Utrecht, with respect to the demolition of Dunkirk, should be fully executed to the satisfaction of his Britannic Majesty. The treaty contained a mutual guarantee of all the places possessed by the contracting powers; of the protestant succession on the throne of England, as well as of that of the Duke of Orleans to the crown of France; and a defensive alliance, stipulating the proportion of ships and forces to be furnished to that power which should be disturbed at home or invaded from abroad. The English people murmured at this treaty. They said an unnecessary umbrage was given to Spain, with which the nation had great commercial connexions; and that, on pretence of an invasion, a body of foreign troops might be introduced to enslave the kingdom.

§ XXXVII. His Majesty was not so successful in his endeavours to appease the King of Sweden, who refused to listen to any overtures until Bremen and Verden should be restored. These the Elector of Hanover resolved to keep as a fair purchase; and he engaged in a confederacy with the enemies of

B O O K Charles, for the maintenance of this acquisition.
II. Mean while his rupture with Sweden was ex-
1716. tremely prejudicial to the commerce of England and had well nigh entailed upon the kingdom another invasion, much more formidable than that which had so lately miscarried. The ministers of Sweden resident at London, Paris, and the Hague maintained a correspondence with the disaffected subjects of Great-Britain. A scheme was formed for the Swedish King's landing on this island with a considerable body of forces, where he should be joined by the malecontents of the united kingdom. Charles relished the enterprize, which flattered his ambition and revenge: nor was it disagreeable to the Czar of Muscovy, who resented the Elector's offer of joining the Swede against the Russians, provided he would ratify the cession of Bremen and Verden. King George having received intimation of these intrigues, returned to England towards the end of January; and ordered a detachment of foot-guards to secure Count Gyllenburgh, the Swedish minister, with all his papers. At the same time, Sir Jacob Banks and Mr. Charles Cæsar were apprehended. The other foreign ministers took the alarm, and remonstrated to the ministry upon this outrage committed against the law of nations. The two Secretaries, Stanhope and Methuen, wrote circular letters to them, assuring them that in a day or two they should be acquainted with the reasons that induced the King to take such an extraordinary step. They were generally satisfied with this intimation: but the Marquis de Monteleone, ambassador from
from

from Spain, expressed his concern, that no other way could be found to preserve the peace of the kingdom, without arresting the person of a public minister, and seizing all his papers, which were the sacred repositories of his master's secrets: he observed, that in whatever manner these two facts might seem to be understood, they very sensibly wounded the law of nations. About the same time Baron Gortz, the Swedish residentiary in Holland, was seized with his papers at Arnheim, at the desire of King George, communicated to the States by Mr. Leathes, his minister at the Hague. The Baron owned he had projected the invasion, a design that is justified by the conduct of King George, who had joined the princes in confederacy against the King of Sweden, without having received the least provocation; who had assisted the King of Denmark in subduing the duchies of Bremen and Verden, and then purchased them of the usurper; and who had, in the course of this very summer, sent a strong squadron of ships to the Baltic, where it joined the Danes and Russians against the Swedish fleet.

§ XXXVIII. When the parliament of Great-Britain met on the twentieth day of February, the King informed them of the triple alliance he had concluded with France and Holland. He mentioned the projected invasion; told them he had given orders for laying before them copies of the letters which had passed between the Swedish ministers on that subject; and he demanded of the Commons such supplies as should be found necessary for the defence of the kingdom. By those papers it appeared

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that the scheme projected by Baron Gortz was very plausible, and even ripe for execution; which, however, was postponed until the army should be reduced, and the Dutch auxiliaries sent back to their own country. The letters being read in parliament, both Houses presented addresses, in which they extolled the King's prudence in establishing such conventions with foreign potentates as might repair the gross defects, and prevent the pernicious consequences of the treaty of Utrecht, which they termed a treacherous and dishonorable peace: and they expressed their horror and indignation at the malice and ingratitude of those who had encouraged an invasion of their country. He likewise received an address of the same kind from the convention; another from the dissenting ministers; a third from the university of Cambridge; but Oxford was not so lavish of her compliments. At a meeting of the Vice-Chancellor and heads of that university, a motion was made for an address to the King, on the suppression of the late unnatural rebellion; his Majesty's safe return; and the favor lately shown to the university, in omitting, at their request, the ceremony of burning in effigy the devil, the Pope, the Pretender, the Duke of Ormond, and the Earl of Mar, on the anniversary of his Majesty's accession. Dr. Smalridge, Bishop of Bristol, observed, that the rebellion had been long suppressed: that there would be no end of addresses, should one be presented every time his Majesty returned from his German dominions: that the late favor they had received was overbalanced by a whole regiment now quartered upon them; and that there was no precedent for

addressing a King upon his return from his German dominions. The university thought they had reason to complain of the little regard paid to their remonstrances, touching a riot raised in that city by the soldiers there quartered, on pretence that the anniversary of the Prince's birth-day had not been celebrated with the usual rejoicings. Affidavits had been sent up to the council, which seemed to favor the officers of the regiment. When the House of Lords deliberated upon the mutiny-bill, by which the soldiers were exempted from arrests for debts, complaint was made of their licentious behaviour at Oxford; and a motion was made, that they should inquire into the riot. The Lords presented an address to the Queen, desiring that the papers relating to that affair might be laid before the House. These being perused, were found to be recriminations between the Oxonians and the officers of the regiment. A warm debate ensued, during which the Earl of Abingdon offered a petition from the Vice-Chancellor of the university, the mayor and magistrates of Oxford, praying to be heard. One of the court-members observing that it would be irregular to receive a petition while the House was in a grand committee, a motion was made, that the chairman should leave the chair: but this being carried in the negative, the debate was resumed, and the majority agreed to the following resolutions: That the heads of the university, and mayor of the city, neglected to make public rejoicings on the Prince's birth-day: That the officers having met to celebrate that day, the house in which they had assembled was assaulted,

B O O K and the windows were broken by the rabble: That
II. this assault was the beginning and occasion of the riots that ensued: That the conduct of the major seemed well justified by the affidavits produced on his part: That the printing and publishing the depositions, upon which the complaints relating to the riots at Oxford were founded, while that matter was under the examination of the lords of the committee of the council, and before they had time to come to any resolution touching the same, was irregular, disrespectful to his Royal Highness, and tending to sedition. An inquiry of this nature, so managed, did not much redound to the honor of such an august assembly⁶.

An. 1717. § XXXIX. The Commons passed a bill, prohibiting all commerce with Sweden, a branch of trade which was of the utmost consequence to the English merchants. They voted ten thousand seamen for the ensuing year; granted about a million for the maintenance of guards, garrisons, and land-forces; and passed the bill relating to mutiny and desertion. The House likewise voted four-and-twenty thousand pounds for the payment of four battalions of Munster and two of Saxe-Gotha, which the King had taken into his service, to supply the place of such as might be, during the rebellion, drawn from the garrisons of the States-General to the assistance of England. This vote, however, was not carried without a violent debate. The demand was inveighed against as an imposition, seeing no troops had ever served. A motion was

⁶ Annals. State - Trials. Deb. in Par. Tindal. Voltaire.

made for an address, desiring that the instructions of those who concluded the treaties might be laid before the House: but this was over-ruled by the majority⁷. The supplies were raised by a land-tax of three shillings in the pound, and a malt-tax. What the Commons had given was not thought sufficient for the expense of the year; therefore, Mr. Secretary Stanhope brought a message from his Majesty, demanding an extraordinary supply, that he might be the better enabled to secure his kingdoms against the danger with which they were threatened from Sweden; and he moved that a supply should be granted to his Majesty for this purpose. Mr. Shippen observed it was a great misfortune that the King was as little acquainted with the parliamentary proceedings as with the language of the country: that the message was unparliamentary and unprecedented; and, in his opinion, penned by some foreign minister: he said he had been often told that his Majesty had retrieved the honor and reputation of the nation; a truth which appeared in the flourishing condition of trade: but that the supply demanded seemed to be inconsistent with the glorious advantages

⁷ This year was rendered famous by a complete victory which Prince Eugene obtained over the Turks at Peterwaradin upon the Danube. The battle was fought on the fifth day of August. The imperial army did not exceed sixty thousand men: that of the Infidels amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand, commanded by the Grand Vizier, who was mortally wounded in the engagement. The Infidels were totally defeated, with the loss of all their tents, artillery, and baggage; so that the victors obtained an immense booty.

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 II. He was seconded by Mr. Hungerford, who declar-
 1717. ed that for his part he could not understand what
 occasion there was for new alliances; much less
 that they should be purchased with money. He
 expressed his surprise that a nation so lately the ter-
 rer of France and Spain should now seem to fear so
 inconsiderable an enemy as the King of Sweden.
 The motion was supported by Mr. Boscawen, Sir
 Gilbert Heathcote, and others: but some of the
 Whigs spoke against it; and Mr. Robert Walpole
 was silent. The Speaker, and Mr. Smith, one of
 the tellers of the Exchequer, opposed this unpar-
 liamentary way of demanding the supply: the for-
 mer proposed that part of the army should be dis-
 banded, and the money applied towards the mak-
 ing good such new engagements as were deemed
 necessary. After several successive debates, the
 resolution for a supply was carried by a majority of
 four voices.

§ XL. The ministry was now divided within it-
 self. Lord Townshend had been removed from
 the office of secretary of state, by the intrigues of
 the Earl of Sunderland; and he was now likewise
 dismissed from the place of lord-lieutenant of Ire-
 land. Mr. Robert Walpole resigned his posts
 of first commissioner of the Treasury and chancellor
 of the Exchequer: his example was followed by
 Mr. Pulteney, secretary at war, and Mr. Methuen,
 secretary of state. When the affair of the supply
 was resumed in the House of Commons, Mr. Stan-
 hope made a motion for granting two hundred and

fifty thousand pounds for that purpose. Mr. Pulteney observed, that having resigned his place, he might now act with the freedom becoming an Englishman: he declared against the manner of granting the supply, as unparliamentary and unprecedented. He said he could not persuade himself that any Englishman advised his Majesty to send such a message; but he doubted not the resolution of a British parliament would make a German ministry tremble. Mr. Stanhope having harangued the House in vindication of the ministry, Mr. Smith answered every article of his speech: he affirmed that if an estimate of the conduct of the ministry in relation to affairs abroad was to be made from a comparison of their conduct at home, they would not appear altogether so faultless as they were represented. “ Was it not a mistake (said he) “ not to preserve the peace at home, after the King “ had ascended the throne with the universal applause and joyful acclamations of all his subjects? “ Was it not a mistake, upon the breaking out of “ the rebellion, not to issue a proclamation, to offer “ pardon to such as should return home peaceably, “ according to the custom on former occasions of “ the same nature? Was it not a mistake, after the “ suppression of the rebellion, and the trial and execution of the principal authors of it, to keep up “ animosities, and drive people to despair, by not “ passing an act of indemnity; by keeping so many “ persons under hard and tedious confinement; and “ by granting pardons to some, without leaving “ them any means to subsist? Is it not a mistake, “ not to trust to a vote of parliament for making

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“ good such engagements as his Majesty should
 “ think proper to enter into ; and instead of that,
 “ to insist on the granting this supply in such an
 “ extraordinary manner ? Is it not a mistake, to
 “ take this opportunity to create divisions, and ren-
 “ der some of the King’s best friends suspected and
 “ obnoxious ? Is it not a mistake, in short, to form
 “ parties and cabals, in order to bring in a bill to
 “ repeal the occasional conformity ? ” A great number
 of members had agreed to this measure in private,
 though at this period it was not brought into the House
 of Commons. After a long debate the sum was grant-
 ed. These were the first-fruits of Britain’s being
 wedded to the interests of the continent. The
 Elector of Hanover quarrelled with the King of
 Sweden ; and England was not only deprived of a
 necessary branch of commerce, but even obliged to
 support him in the prosecution of the war. The
 ministry now underwent a new revolution. The
 Earl of Sunderland and Mr. Addison were appoint-
 ed secretaries of state : Mr. Stanhope became first
 commissioner of the Treasury and chancellor of the
 Exchequer.

§ XLI. On the sixth day of May, the King, going
 to the House of Peers, gave the parliament to un-
 derstand, that the fleet under Sir George Byng,
 which had sailed to the Baltic, to observe the
 motions of the Swedes, was safely arrived in the
 Sound. He said he had given orders for the im-
 mediate reduction of ten thousand soldiers, as well
 as directions to prepare an act of indemnity. He de-
 sired they would take proper measures for reducing

the public debts with a just regard to parliamentary credit; and that they would go through the public business with all possible dispatch and unanimity. Some progress had already been made in deliberations upon the debt of the nation, which was comprehended under the two heads of redeemable and irredeemable encumbrances. The first had been contracted with a redeemable interest; and these the public had a right to discharge: the others consisted of long and short annuities granted for a greater or less number of years, which could not be altered without the consent of the proprietors. Mr. Robert Walpole had projected a scheme for lessening the interest, and paying the capital of those debts, before he resigned his place in the Exchequer. He proposed, in the House of Commons, to reduce the interest of redeemable funds, and offer an alternative to the proprietors of annuities. His plan was approved; but, when he resigned his places, the ministers made some small alterations in it, which furnished him with a pretence for opposing the execution of the scheme. In the course of the debate, some warm altercation passed between him and Mr. Stanhope, by which it appeared, they had made a practice of selling places and reversions. Mr. Hungerford, standing up, said he was sorry to see two such great men running foul of one another: that, however, they ought to be looked upon as patriots and fathers of their country; and since they had by mischance discovered their nakedness, the other members, ought, according to the custom of the East, to

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turn their backs upon them, that they might not be seen in such a shameful condition. Mr. Boscawen moved that the House would lay their commands upon them, that no further notice should be taken of what had passed. He was seconded by Mr. Methuen: the House approved of the motion: and the Speaker took their word and honor that they should not prosecute their resentment. The money-corporations having agreed to provide cash for such creditors as should be willing to receive their principal, the House came to certain resolutions, on which were founded the three bills that passed into laws, under the names of "The South-Sea-act, the Bank-act, and the General-fund-act." The original stock of the South-Sea company did not exceed nine millions four hundred and seventy-one thousand three hundred and twenty-five pounds; but the funds granted being sufficient to answer the interest of ten millions at six per cent. the company made up that sum to the government, for which they received six hundred thousand pounds yearly, and eight thousand pounds a-year for management. By this act they declared themselves willing to receive five hundred thousand pounds, and the eight thousand for management. It was enacted, That the company should continue a corporation, until the redemption of their annuity, towards which not less than a million should be paid at a time. They were likewise required to advance a sum not exceeding two millions, toward discharging the principal and interest due on the four lottery-

funds of the ninth and tenth years of Queen Anne. C H A P.
By the Bank-act the governors and company de- I.
clared themselves willing to accept an annuity of 1717.
eighty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty-one
pounds, seven shillings, and ten pence half-penny,
or the principal of one million seven hundred and
seventy-five thousand twenty-seven pounds seven-
teen shillings, and ten pence halfpenny, in lieu of
the present annuity, amounting to one hundred and
six thousand five hundred and one pounds, thirteen
shillings, and five pence. They likewise declared
themselves willing to discharge, and deliver up to
be cancelled, as many Exchequer-bills as amounted
to two millions, and accept of an annuity of one
hundred thousand pounds, being after the rate of
five per cent. redeemable after one year's notice; to
circulate the remaining Exchequer-bills at three per
cent. and one penny per day. It was enacted, That
the former allowances should be continued to Christ-
mas, and then the Bank should have for circulating
the two millions five hundred and sixty-one thou-
sand and twenty-five pounds remaining Exchequer-
bills, an annuity of seventy-six thousand eight hun-
dred and thirty pounds, fifteen shillings, at the rate
of three pounds per cent. till redeemed, over and
above the one penny a-day for interest. By the same
act the bank was required to advance a sum not ex-
ceeding two millions five hundred thousand pounds,
towards discharging the national debt, if wanted,
on condition that they should have five pounds per
cent. for as much as they might advance, redeemable
by parliament. The General-fund-act recited the

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several acts of parliament, for establishing the four lotteries in the ninth and tenth years of the late Queen, and stated the annual produce of the several funds, amounting in all to seven hundred twenty-four thousand eight hundred forty-nine pounds, six shillings, and ten pence one-fifth. This was the general-fund; the deficiency of which was to be made good annually, out of the first aids granted by parliament. For the regular payment of all such annuities as should be made payable by this act, it was enacted, That all the duties and revenues mentioned therein should continue for ever, with the proviso, however, that the revenues rendered by this act perpetual should be subject to redemption. This act contained a clause by which the sinking fund was established. The reduction of interest to five per cent. producing a surplus or excess upon the appropriated funds, it was enacted, That all the monies arising from time to time, as well for the surplus, by virtue of the acts for redeeming the funds of the Bank and of the South-Sea company, as also for the surplus of the duties and revenues by this act appropriated to make good the General-fund, should be appropriated and employed for the discharging the principal and interest of such national debt as was incurred before the twenty-fifth of December of the preceding year, in such manner as should be directed or appointed by any future act of parliament, to be discharged out of the same, and for none other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever.

§ XLII. The Earl of Oxford, who had now remained almost two years a prisoner in the Tower,

presented a petition to the House of Lords, praying that his imprisonment might not be indefinite. Some of the Tory-lords affirmed that the impeachment was destroyed and determined by the prorogation of parliament, which superseded the whole proceedings; but the contrary was voted by a considerable majority. The thirteenth day of June was fixed for the trial; and the House of Commons made acquainted with this determination. The Commons appointed a committee to inquire into the state of the Earl's impeachment; and, in consequence of their report, sent a message to the Lords, demanding longer time to prepare for the trial. Accordingly, the day was prolonged to the twenty-fourth of June; and the Commons appointed the committee, with four other members, to be the managers for making good the articles of impeachment. At the appointed time, the Peers repaired to the court in Westminster-hall, where Lord Cowper presided as lord-steward. The Commons were assembled as a committee of the whole House: the King, the rest of the royal family, and the foreign ministers, assisted at the solemnity: the Earl of Oxford was brought from the Tower: the articles of impeachment were read, with his answers, and the replication of the Commons. Sir Joseph Jekyll standing up to make good the first article, Lord Harcourt signified to their lordships that he had a motion to make, and they adjourned to their own house. There he represented, that a great deal of time would be unnecessarily consumed in going through all the articles of the impeachment: that if the Commons would make

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good the two articles of high-treason, the Earl of Oxford would forfeit both life and estate, and there would be an end of the matter: whereas, to proceed on the method proposed by the Commons would draw the trial on to a prodigious length. He, therefore, moved that the Commons might not be permitted to proceed, until judgment should be first given upon the articles for high-treason. He was supported by the Earls of Anglesey and Nottingham, the Lord Trevor, and a considerable number of both parties; and though opposed by the Earl of Sunderland, the Lords Coningsby and Parker, the motion was carried in the affirmative. It produced a dispute between the two Houses. The Commons, at a conference, delivered a paper, containing their reasons for asserting it as their undoubted right to impeach a peer either for treason or for high crimes and misdemeanours; or, should they see occasion, to mix both in the same accusation. The House of Lords insisted on their former resolution; and in another conference delivered a paper, wherein they asserted it to be a right inherent in every court of justice to order and direct such methods of proceeding as it should think fit to be observed in all causes that fall under its cognizance. The Commons demanded a free conference, which was refused. The dispute grew more and more warm. The Lords sent a message to the Lower House, importing, that they intended presently to proceed on the trial of the Earl of Oxford. The Commons paid no regard to this intimation; but adjourned to the third day of July. The Lords, repairing to Westminster-hall, took their places;

ordered the Earl to be brought to the bar, and made proclamation for his accusers to appear. Having waited a quarter of an hour, they adjourned to their own house, where, after some debate, the Earl was acquitted upon a division: then returning to the hall, they voted, That he should be set at liberty. Oxford owed his safety to the dissensions among the ministers, and to the late change in the administration. In consequence of this, he was delivered from the persecution of Walpole; and numbered among his friends the Dukes of Devonshire and Argyll, the Earls of Nottingham and Ilay, and Lord Townshend. The Commons, in order to express their sense of his demerit, presented an address to the King, desiring he might be excepted out of the intended act of grace. The King promised to comply with their request; and in the mean time forbade the Earl to appear at court. On the fifteenth day of July the Earl of Sunderland delivered in the House of Peers the act of grace, which passed through both Houses with great expedition. From this indulgence were excepted the Earl of Oxford, Mr. Prior, Mr. Thomas Harley, Mr. Arthur Moore; Crisp, Nodes, Obryan, Redmayne the printer, and Thompson; as also the assassins in Newgate, and the clan of Mackgregor in Scotland. By virtue of this act, the Earl of Carnwath, the Lords Widdrington and Nairn were immediately discharged; together with all the gentlemen under sentence of death in Newgate, and those that were confined on account of the rebellion in the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and other prisons of the kingdom. The act of

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grace being prepared for the royal assent, the King went to the House of Peers on the fifteenth day of July, and having given his sanction to all the bills that were ready, closed the session with a speech on the usual topics.

§ XLIII. The proceedings in the Convocation turned chiefly upon two performances of Dr. Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor. One was entitled, "A Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Nonjurors:" the other was a sermon preached before the King, under the title of, "The nature of the kingdom of Christ." An answer to this discourse was published by Dr. Snape, master of Eton-college, and the convocation appointed a committee to examine the Bishop's two performances. They drew up a representation, in which the Preservative and the sermon were censured, as tending to subvert all government and discipline in the church of Christ; to reduce his kingdom to a state of anarchy and confusion; to impugn and impeach the royal supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, and the authority of the legislature to enforce obedience in matters of religion by civil sanctions. The government thought proper to put a stop to these proceedings by a prorogation; which, however, inflamed the controversy. A great number of pens were drawn against the Bishop: but his chief antagonists were Dr. Snape and Dr. Sherlock, whom the King removed from the office of his chaplains: and the Convocation has not been permitted to sit and do business since that period.

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CHAP. II.

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§ I. **D**URING these transactions, the negotiations of the North were continued against the King of Sweden, who had penetrated into Norway, and advanced into Christianstadt, the capital of that kingdom. The Czar had sent five-and-twenty thousand Russians to assist the allies in the reduction of Wismar, which he intended to bestow upon his niece, lately married to the Duke of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin: but, before his troops arrived, the place had surrendered, and the Russians were not admitted into the garrison; a circumstance which increased the misunderstanding between him and the King of Great-Britain. Nevertheless, he consented to a project for making a descent upon Schonen, and actually took upon him the command of the allied fleet; though he was not at all pleased to see Sir John Norris in the Baltic, because he had formed designs against Denmark, which he knew the English squadron would protect. He suddenly desisted from the expedition against Schonen, on pretence that the season was too far advanced; and the King of Denmark published a manifesto, remonstrating against his conduct on this occasion. By this time Baron Gortz had planned a pacification

between his master and the Czar, who was discontented with all his German allies, because they opposed his having any footing in the empire. This monarch arrived at Amsterdam in December, whither he was followed by the Czarina; and he actually resided at the Hague when King George passed through it, in return to his British dominions; but he declined an interview with the King of England. When Gyllenburgh's letters were published in London, some passages seemed to favor the supposition of the Czar's being privy to the conspiracy. His minister at the English court presented a long memorial, complaining that the King had caused to be printed the malicious insinuations of his enemies. He denied his having the least concern in the design of the Swedish King. He charged the court of England with having privately treated of a separate peace with Charles, and even with having promised to assist him against the Czar, on condition that he would relinquish his pretensions to Bremen and Verden. Nevertheless, he expressed an inclination to re-establish the ancient good understanding, and to engage in vigorous measures for prosecuting the war against the common enemy. The memorial was answered by the King of Great-Britain, who assured the Czar he should have reason to be fully satisfied, if he would remove the only obstacle to their mutual good understanding; in other words, withdraw the Russian troops from the empire. Notwithstanding these professions, the two monarchs were never perfectly reconciled.

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§ II. The Czar made an excursion to the court of France, where he concluded a treaty of friendship with the regent, at whose earnest desire he promised to recal his troops from Mecklenburgh. At his return to Amsterdam, he had a private interview with Gortz, who, as well as Gyllenburgh, had been set at liberty. Gortz undertook to adjust all difference between the Czar and the King of Sweden within three months; and Peter engaged to suspend all operations against Sweden, until that term should be expired. A congress was opened at Abo, between the Swedish and Russian ministers; but the conferences were afterwards removed to Aland. By this convention, the Czar obliged himself to assist Charles in the conquest of Norway; and they promised to unite all their forces against the King of Great-Britain, should he presume to interpose. Both were incensed against that prince; and one part of their design was to raise the Pretender to the throne of England. Baron Gortz set out from Aland for Frederickstadt in Norway, with the plan of peace: but, before he arrived, Charles was killed by a cannon-ball from the town, as he visited the trenches, on the thirtieth of November. Baron Gortz was immediately arrested, and brought to the scaffold by the nobles of Sweden, whose hatred he had incurred by his insolence of behaviour. The death of Charles was fortunate for King George. Sweden was now obliged to submit: while the Czar, the King of Denmark, and the Elector of Hanover, kept possession of what they had acquired in the course of the war.

§ III. Thus Bremen and Verden were secured to the house of Hanover: an acquisition towards which the English nation contributed by her money, as well as by her arms: an acquisition made in contradiction to the engagements into which England entered when King William became guarantee for the treaty of Travendahl: an acquisition that may be considered as the first link of a political chain by which the English nation was dragged back into expensive connexions with the continent. The King had not yet received the investiture of the duchies; and until that should be procured, it was necessary to espouse with warmth the interests of the Emperor. This was another source of misunderstanding between Great-Britain and Spain. Prince Eugene gained another complete victory over a prodigious army of the Turks at Belgrade, which was surrendered to him after the battle. The Emperor had engaged in this war as an ally of the Venetians, whom the Turks had attacked, and driven from the Morea. The Pope considered it as a religious war against the Infidels; and obtained repeated assurances from the King of Spain, that he would not undertake anything against the Emperor, while he was engaged in such a laudable quarrel. Philip had even sent a squadron of ships and gallies to the assistance of the Venetians. In the course of this year, however, he equipped a strong armament, the command of which he bestowed on the Marquis de Lede, who sailed from Barcelona in July, and landing at Cagliari in Sardinia, which belonged to the Emperor, made a conquest of the whole island. At the same time, the

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King of Spain endeavoured to justify these proceedings by a manifesto, in which he alledged that the Archduke, contrary to the faith of treaties, encouraged and supported the rebellion of his subjects in Catalonia, by frequent succours from Naples, and other places; and that the Great Inquisitor of Spain had been seized, though furnished with a passport from his Holiness. He promised, however, to proceed no further, and suspend all operations, that the powers of Europe might have time and opportunity to contrive expedients for reconciling all differences, and securing the peace and balance of power in Italy: nay, he consented that this important affair should be left to the arbitration of King George and the States-General. These powers undertook the office. Conferences were begun between the ministers of the Emperor, France, England, and Holland; and these produced, in the course of the following year, the famous quadruple alliance. In this treaty it was stipulated, that the Emperor should renounce all pretensions to the crown of Spain, and exchange Sardinia for Sicily, with the Duke of Savoy; that the succession to the duchies of Tuscany, Parma and Placentia, which the Queen of Spain claimed by inheritance, as Princess of the house of Farnese, should be settled on her eldest son, in case the present possessors should die without male issue. Philip, dissatisfied with this partition, continued to make formidable preparations by sea and land. The King of England and the Regent of France interposed their admonitions to no purpose. At length his Britannic Majesty had recourse to more substantial arguments,

and ordered a strong squadron to be equipped with all possible expedition'. C H A P.

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§ IV. On the third day of November, the Princess of Wales was delivered of a prince, the ceremony of whose baptism was productive of a difference between the grand-father and the father. The Prince of Wales intended that his uncle, the Duke of York, should stand godfather. The King ordered the Duke of Newcastle to stand for himself. After the ceremony, the Prince expressed his resentment against this nobleman in very warm terms. The King ordered the Prince to confine himself within his own apartments; and afterwards signified his pleasure that he should quit the palace of

¹ The Pretender, who resided at Urbino, having received intelligence from Paris, that there was a design formed against his life, Pope Clement XI. gave directions that all foreigners in that neighbourhood, especially English, should be arrested. The Earl of Peterborough arriving at Bologna, with a few armed followers, was seized, with all his papers. Being interrogated, he said he came to pass some time in Italy, for the benefit of the air. He was close confined for a whole month in Fort Urbino, and his attendants were sent to prison. Nothing appearing to justify the suspicion, he was dismissed with uncommon civility. The King demanding reparation for this insult, the Pope wrote with his own hand a letter to an ally of Great-Britain, declaring that the Legate of Bologna had violently and unjustly, without the knowledge of his Holiness, caused the Earl of Peterborough to be seized upon suspicions which proved to be ill-grounded. The Cardinal-Legate sent a declaration to the English Admiral in the Mediterranean, that he had asked forgiveness of his Holiness, and now begged pardon of his Britannic Majesty, for having unadvisedly arrested a peer of Great-Britain on his travels.

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St. James. He retired with the Princess to a house belonging to the Earl of Grantham; but the children were detained at the palace. All peers and peeresses, and all privy-counsellors and their wives, were given to understand, that in case they visited the Prince and Princess, they should have no access to his Majesty's presence; and all who enjoyed posts and places under both King and Prince were obliged to quit the service of one or other, at their option. When the parliament met on the twenty-first day of November, the King in his speech, told both Houses that he had reduced the army to very near one half, since the beginning of the last session: he expressed his desire that all those who were friends to the present happy establishment might unanimously concur in some proper method for the greater strengthening the protestant interest, of which, as the church of England was unquestionably the main support and bulwark, so would she reap the principal benefit, of every advantage accruing from the union and mutual charity of all protestants. After the addresses of thanks, which were couched in the usual style, the Commons proceeded to take into consideration the estimates and accounts, in order to settle the establishment of the army, navy, and ordnance. Ten thousand men were voted for the sea-service. When the supply for the army fell under deliberation, a very warm debate ensued, upon the number of troops necessary to be maintained. Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, and Mr. Walpole, in a long elaborate harangue,

insisted upon its being reduced to twelve thousand. They were answered by Mr. Craggs, secretary at war, and Sir David Dalrymple. Mr. Shippen, in the course of the debate, said the second paragraph of the King's speech seemed rather to be calculated for the meridian of Germany than for Great-Britain; and it was a great misfortune that the King was a stranger to our language and constitution. Mr. Lechmere affirmed this was a scandalous invective against the King's person and government; and moved that he who uttered it should be sent to the Tower. Mr. Shippen, refusing to retract or excuse what he had said, was voted to the Tower by a great majority; and the number of standing forces was fixed at sixteen thousand three hundred and forty-seven effective men.

§ V. On account of the great scarcity of silver-coin, occasioned by the exportation of silver, and the importation of gold, a motion was made to put a stop to this growing evil, by lowering the value of gold specie. The Commons examined a representation which had been made to the Treasury by Sir Isaac Newton, master of the Mint, on this subject. Mr. Caswel explained the nature of a clandestine trade carried on by the Dutch and Hamburgers, in concert with the Jews of England and other traders, for exporting the silver coin and importing gold, which being coined at the Mint, yielded a profit of fifteen pence upon every guinea. The House, in an address to the King, desired that a proclamation might be issued, forbidding all persons to utter or receive guineas at a higher rate than

B O O K one-and-twenty shillings each. His Majesty complied with their request: but people hoarding up their silver, in hopes that the price of it would be raised, or in apprehension that the gold would be lowered still farther, the two Houses resolved that the standard of the gold and silver coins of the kingdom should not be altered in fineness, weight, or denomination; and they ordered a bill to be brought in, to prevent the melting down of the silver-coin. At this period, one James Shepherd, a youth of eighteen, apprentice to a coachmaker, and an enthusiast in Jacobitism, sent a letter to a nonjuring clergyman, proposing a scheme for assassinating King George. He was immediately apprehended; owned the design, was tried, condemned, and executed at Tyburn. This was likewise the fate of the Marquis de Pallcotti, an Italian nobleman, brother to the Duchess of Shrewsbury. He had, in a transport of passion, killed his own servant; and seemed indeed to be disordered in his brain. After he had received sentence of death, the King's pardon was earnestly solicited by his sister, the Duchess, and many other persons of the first distinction: but the common people became so clamorous, that it was thought dangerous to rescue him from the penalties of the law, which he accordingly underwent in the most ignominious manner. No subject produced so much heat and altercation in parliament during this session, as did the bill for regulating the land-forces, and punishing mutiny and desertion: a bill which was looked upon as an encroachment upon the liberties and constitution of England, inasmuch

as it established martial law, which wrested from the civil magistrate the cognizance of crimes and misdemeanours committed by the soldiers and officers of the army: a jurisdiction inconsistent with the genius and disposition of the people. The dangers that might accrue from such a power were explained in the Lower House by Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Harley, and Mr. Robert Walpole, which last, however, voted afterwards for the bill. In the House of Lords, it was strenuously opposed by the Earls of Oxford, Strafford, and Lord Harcourt. Their objections were answered by Lord Carteret. The bill passed by a great majority; but divers lords entered a protest. This affair being discussed, a bill was brought in for vesting in trustees the forfeited estates in Britain and Ireland, to be sold for the use of the public; for giving relief to lawful creditors, by determining their claims; and for the more effectual bringing into the respective exchequers the rents and profits of the estates till sold. The time of claiming was prolonged: the sum of twenty thousand pounds was reserved out of the sale of the estates in Scotland, for erecting schools; and eight thousand pounds for building barracks in that kingdom. The King having signified, by a message to the House of Commons, that he had lately received such information from abroad, as gave reason to believe that a naval force, employed where it should be necessary, would give weight to his endeavours: he, therefore, thought fit to acquaint the House with this circumstance, not doubting but that in case he should be obliged, at this

B O O K critical juncture, to exceed the number of men granted this year for the sea-service, the House would provide for such exceeding². The Commons immediately drew up and presented an address, assuring his Majesty that they would make good such exceedings of seamen as he should find necessary to preserve the tranquillity of Europe. On the twenty-first day of March, the King went to the House of Peers, and, having passed the bills that were ready for the royal assent, ordered the parliament to be prorogued³.

An. 1718. § IV. The King of Spain, by the care and indefatigable diligence of his prime minister, Cardinal Alberoni, equipped a very formidable armament, which, in the beginning of June, set sail from Barcelona towards Italy; but the destination of it was not known. A strong squadron having been fitted out in England, the Marquis de Monteleone, ambassador from Spain, presented a memorial to the British ministry, importing that so powerful an armament in time of peace could not but give umbrage to the King his master, and alter the good intelligence that subsisted between the two crowns. In answer to this representation, the ministers

² Oldmixon. Annals. Lamberty. Burchet. Hist. Reg. Tindal. State-Trials. Deb. in Par. Bolinebroke. Lives of the Admirals.

³ Earl Cowper, lord-chancellor, resigned the great seal, which was at first put in commission, but afterwards given to Lord Parker, as high chancellor. The Earl of Sunderland was made president of the council, and first commissioner of the Treasury. Lord Stanhope and Mr. Craggs were appointed secretaries of state. Lord Stanhope and Lord Cadogan were afterwards created earls.

declared that the King intended to send Admiral Byng with a powerful squadron into the Mediterranean, to maintain the neutrality in Italy. Meanwhile, the negociations between the English and French ministers produced the quadruple alliance, by which King George and the Regent prescribed a peace between the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the King of Sicily, and undertook to compel Philip and the Savoyard to submit to such conditions as they had concerted with his Imperial Majesty. These powers were allowed only three months to consider the articles, and declare whether they would reject them, or acquiesce in the partition. Nothing could be more contradictory to the true interest of Great-Britain than this treaty, which destroyed the balance in Italy, by throwing such an accession of power into the hands of the House of Austria. It interrupted the commerce with Spain; involved the kingdom in an immediate war with that monarchy; and gave rise to all the quarrels and disputes which have arisen between England and Spain in the sequel. The States-General did not approve of such violent measures, and for some time kept aloof: but at length they acceded to the quadruple alliance, which indeed was no other than a very expensive compliment to the Emperor, who was desirous of adding Sicily to his other Italian dominions.

§ VII. The King of England had used some endeavours to compromise the difference between his Imperial Majesty and the Spanish branch of the House of Bourbon. Lord Stanhope had been sent to Madrid with a plan of pacification, which

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being rejected by Philip, as partial and iniquitous, the King determined to support this mediation by force of arms. Sir George Byng sailed from Spithead on the fourth day of June, with twenty ships of the line, two fire-ships, two bomb-vessels, and ample instructions how to act on all emergencies. He arrived off Cape St. Vincent on the thirtieth day of the month, and dispatched his secretary to Cadiz, with a letter to Colonel Stanhope, the British minister at Madrid, desiring him to inform his Most Catholic Majesty of the Admiral's arrival in those parts, and lay before him this article of his instructions: "You are to make instances with both parties to cease from using any further acts of hostility: but in case the Spaniards do still insist, with their ships of war and forces, to attack the kingdom of Naples, or other territories of the Emperor in Italy, or to land in any part of Italy, which can only be with a design to invade the Emperor's dominions, against whom only they have declared war by invading Sardinia; or, if they should endeavour to make themselves masters of the kingdom of Sicily, which must be with a design to invade the kingdom of Naples; in which case you are, with all your power, to hinder and obstruct the same. If it should so happen, that at your arrival, with our fleet under your command, in the Mediterranean, the Spaniards should already have landed any troops in Italy, in order to invade the Emperor's territories, you shall endeavour amicably to dissuade them from persevering in such an attempt, and offer them your

“ assistance to help them to withdraw their troops,
 “ and put an end to all further acts of hostility.
 “ But in case these your friendly endeavours should
 “ prove ineffectual, you shall, by keeping com-
 “ pany with, or intercepting their ships or convoy;
 “ or, if it be necessary, by openly opposing them,
 “ defend the Emperor’s territories from any fur-
 “ ther attempt.” When Cardinal Alberoni peru-
 fed these instructions, he told Colonel Stanhope,
 with some warmth, that his master would run all
 hazards, and even suffer himself to be driven out
 of Spain, rather than recal his troops, or consent
 to a suspension of arms. He said the Spaniards were
 not to be frightened; and he was so well convinced
 that the fleet would do their duty, that in case of
 their being attacked by Admiral Byng, he should
 be in no pain for the success. Mr. Stanhope present-
 ing him with a list of the British squadron, he threw
 it upon the ground with great emotion. He pro-
 mised, however, to lay the Admiral’s letter before
 the King, and to let the envoy know his Majesty’s
 resolution. Such an interposition could not but be
 very provoking to the Spanish minister, who had
 laid his account with the conquest of Sicily, and
 for that purpose prepared an armament which was
 altogether surprising, considering the late shattered
 condition of the Spanish affairs. But he seems to
 have put too much confidence in the strength of the
 Spanish fleet. In a few days he sent back the Ad-
 miral’s letter to Mr. Stanhope, with a note under
 it, importing, that the Chevalier Byng might

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execute the orders he had received from the King his master.

§ VIII. The Admiral, in passing by Gibraltar, was joined by Vice-Admiral Cornwall, with two ships. He proceeded to Minorca, where he relieved the garrison of Port-Mahon. Then he sailed for Naples, where he arrived on the first day of August, and was received as a deliverer: for the Neapolitans had been under the utmost terror of an invasion from the Spaniards. Sir George Byng received intelligence from the viceroy, Count Daun, who treated him with the most distinguishing marks of respect, that the Spanish army, amounting to thirty thousand men, commanded by the Marquis de Lede, had landed in Sicily, reduced Palermo and Messina, and were then employed in the siege of the citadel belonging to this last city: that the Piedmontese garrison would be obliged to surrender, if not speedily relieved: that an alliance was upon the carpet between the Emperor and the King of Sicily, which last had desired the assistance of the Imperial troops, and agreed to receive them into the citadel of Messina. The admiral immediately resolved to sail thither, and took under his convoy a re-enforcement of two thousand Germans for the citadel, under the command of General Wetzel. He forthwith sailed from Naples, and on the ninth day of August was in sight of the Faro of Messina. He dispatched his own captain, with a polite message to the Marquis de Lede, proposing a cessation of arms in Sicily for two months, that the powers of Europe might have time to concert measures for restoring a lasting peace; and

and declaring, that should this proposal be rejected, he would, in pursuance of his instructions, use all his force to prevent further attempts to disturb the dominions his master had engaged to defend. The Spanish general answered, that he had no powers to treat, consequently could not agree to an armistice, but should obey his orders, which directed him to reduce Sicily for his master the King of Spain. The Spanish fleet had sailed from the harbour of Messina on the day before the English squadron appeared. Admiral Byng supposed they had retired to Malta, and directed his course towards Messina, in order to encourage and support the garrison in the citadel. But, in doubling the point of Faro, he descried two Spanish scouts, and learned from the people of a felucca from the Calabrian shore, that they had seen from the hills the Spanish fleet lying to in order of battle. The admiral immediately detached the German troops to Reggio, under convoy of two ships of war. Then he stood through the Faro after the Spanish scouts that led him to their main fleet, which before noon he descried in line of battle, amounting to seven - and - twenty sail large and small, besides two fire-ships, four bomb-vessels, and seven gallies. They were commanded in chief by Don Antonio de Castanita, under whom were the four Rear-Admirals Chacon, Mari, Guevara, and Cammock. At sight of the English squadron, they stood away large, and Byng gave chase all the rest of the day. In the morning, which was the eleventh of August, Rear - Admiral de Mari, with six ships of war, the gallies, fire-ships,

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and bomb-ketches, separated from the main fleet, and stood in for the Sicilian shore. The English Admiral detached Captain Walton with five ships in pursuit of them; and they were soon engaged. He himself continued to chase their main fleet; and about ten o'clock the battle began. The Spaniards seemed to be distracted in their councils, and acted in confusion. They made a running fight: yet the Admirals behaved with courage and activity, in spite of which they were all taken, except Cammock, who made his escape with three ships of war and three frigates. In this engagement, which happened off Cape Passaro, Captain Haddock, of the Grafton, signalized his courage in an extraordinary manner. On the eighteenth the Admiral received a letter from Captain Walton, dated off Syracuse, intimating that he had taken four Spanish ships of war, together with a bomb-ketch, and a vessel laden with arms: and that he had burned four ships of the line, a fire-ship, and a bomb-vessel⁵. Had the Spaniards followed the advice of Rear-Admiral Cammock, who was a native of Ireland, Sir George Byng would not have obtained such an easy victory. That officer proposed that they should remain at anchor in the road of Paradise, with their broadsides to the sea; in which case the English Admiral

⁵ This letter is justly deemed a curious specimen of the laconic style.

S I R,

“ WE have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships and vessels which were upon the coast; the number as per margin. I am, &c.

“ G. WALTON.”

would have found it a very difficult task to attack them : for the coast is so bold, that the largest ships could ride with a cable ashore ; whereas farther out the currents are so various and rapid, that the English squadron could not have come to anchor, or lie near them in order of battle : besides, the Spaniards might have been re-enforced from the army on shore, which would have raised batteries to annoy the assailants. Before King George had received an account of this engagement from the Admiral, he wrote him a letter with his own hand, approving his conduct. When Sir George's eldest son arrived in England, with a circumstantial account of the action, he was graciously received, and sent back with plenipotentiary powers to his father, that he might negotiate with the several princes and states of Italy, as he should see occasion. The son likewise carried the King's royal grant to the officers and seamen, of all the prizes they had taken from the Spaniards. Notwithstanding this victory, the Spanish army carried on the siege of the citadel of Messina with such vigor, that the governor surrendered the place by capitulation on the twenty-ninth day of September. A treaty was now concluded at Vienna between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy. They agreed to form an army for the conquest of Sardinia in behalf of the Duke; and in the mean time this prince engaged to evacuate Sicily : but until his troops could be conveyed from that island, he consented that they should co-operate with the Germans against the common enemy. Admiral Byng continued to assist the

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Imperialists in Sicily, during the best part of the winter, by scouring the seas of the Spaniards, and keeping the communication open between the German forces and the Calabrian shore, from whence they were supplied with provisions. He acted in this service with equal conduct, resolution, and activity. He conferred with the viceroy of Naples, and the other Imperial generals, about the operations of the ensuing campaign, and Count Hamilton was dispatched to Vienna, to lay before the Emperor the result of their deliberations: then the Admiral set sail for Mahon, where his ships might be refitted, and put in a condition to take the sea in the spring.

§ IX. The destruction of the Spanish fleet was a subject that employed the deliberations and conjectures of all the politicians in Europe. Spain exclaimed against the conduct of England, as inconsistent with the rules of good faith, for the observation of which she had always been so famous. The Marquis de Monteleone wrote a letter to Mr. Secretary Craggs, in which he expostulated with him upon such an unprecedented outrage. Cardinal Alberoni, in a letter to that minister, inveighed against it as a base, unworthy action. He said the neutrality of Italy was a weak pretence, since every body knew that neutrality had long been at an end; and that the prince's guarantees of the treaty of Utrecht, were entirely discharged from their engagements, not only by the scandalous infringements committed by the Austrians in the evacuation of Catalonia and Majorca; but also because the

guarantee was no longer binding than till a peace was concluded with France. He taxed the British ministry with having revived and supported this neutrality, not by an amicable mediation, but by open violence, and artfully abusing the confidence and security of the Spaniards. This was the language of disappointed ambition. Nevertheless, it must be owned, that the conduct of England, on this occasion, was irregular, partial, and precipitate.

§ X. The parliament meeting on the eleventh day of November, the King, in his speech, declared that the court of Spain had rejected all his amicable proposals, and broke through their most solemn engagements, for the security of the British commerce. To vindicate, therefore, the faith of his former treaties, as well as to maintain those he had lately made, and to protect and defend the trade of his subjects, which had in every branch been violently and unjustly oppressed, it became necessary for his naval forces to check their progress: that, notwithstanding the success of his arms, that court had lately given orders at all the ports of Spain and of the West-Indies, to fit out privateers against the English. He said he was persuaded that a British parliament would enable him to resent such treatment; and he assured them that his good brother, the Regent of France, was ready to concur with him in the most vigorous measures. A strong opposition was made in both Houses to the motion for an address of thanks and congratulation proposed by Lord Carteret. Several peers observed, that such an address was, in effect, to approve

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a sea-fight which might be attended with dangerous consequences, and to give the sanction of that august assembly to measures which, upon examination, might appear either to clash with the law of nations, or former treaties, or to be prejudicial to the trade of Great-Britain: that they ought to proceed with the utmost caution and maturest deliberation, in an affair wherein the honor, as well as the interest of the nation, were so highly concerned. Lord Strafford moved for an address, that Sir George Byng's instructions might be laid before the House. Earl Stanhope replied, that there was no occasion for such an address, since by his Majesty's command he had already laid before the House the treaties, of which the late sea-fight was a consequence: particularly the treaty for a defensive alliance between the Emperor and his Majesty, concluded at Westminster on the twenty-fifth day of May, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen; and the treaty of alliance for restoring and settling the public peace, signed at London on the twenty-second day of July. He affirmed that the court of Spain had violated the treaty of Utrecht, and acted against the public faith, in attacking the Emperor's dominions, while he was engaged in a war against the enemies of Christendom: that they had rejected his Majesty's friendly offices and offers for mediating an accommodation. He explained the cause of his own journey to Spain, and his negotiations at Madrid. He added, it was high time to check the growth of the naval power of Spain, in order to protect and secure the trade of

the British subjects, which had been violently oppressed by the Spaniards. After a long debate, the motion was carried by a considerable majority. The same subject excited disputes of the same nature in the House of Commons, where Lord Hinchinbroke moved that, in their address of thanks, they should declare their entire satisfaction in those measures which the King had already taken for strengthening the protestant succession, and establishing a lasting tranquillity in Europe. The members in the opposition urged that it was unparliamentary and unprecedented, on the first day of the session, to enter upon particulars: that the business in question was of the highest importance, and deserved the most mature deliberation: that, before they approved the measures which had been taken, they ought to examine the reasons on which those measures were founded. Mr. Robert Walpole affirmed, that the giving sanction, in the manner proposed, to the late measures, could have no other view than that of screening ministers, who were conscious of having begun a war against Spain, and now wanted to make it the parliament's war. He observed that, instead of an entire satisfaction, they ought to express their entire dissatisfaction with such conduct as was contrary to the law of nations, and a breach of the most solemn treaties. Mr. Secretary Craggs, in a long speech, explained the nature of the quadruple alliance, and justified all the measures which had been taken. The address, as moved by Lord Hinchinbroke, was at length carried, and presented to his Majesty. Then the

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Commons proceeded to consider the supply. They voted thirteen thousand five hundred sailors; and twelve thousand four hundred thirty-five men for the land-service. The whole estimate amounted to two millions two hundred and fifty-seven thousand five hundred eighty-one pounds, nineteen shillings. The money was raised by a land-tax, malt-tax, and lottery.

§ XI. On the thirteenth day of December, Earl Stanhope declared, in the House of Lords, that, in order to unite the hearts of the well-affected to the present establishment, he had a bill to offer, under the title of "An act for strengthening the protestant interest in these kingdoms." It was accordingly read, and appeared to be a bill repealing the acts against occasional conformity, the growth of schism, and some clauses in the corporation and test-acts. This had been concerted by the ministry, in private meetings with the most eminent dissenters. The Tory-lords were astonished at this motion, for which they were altogether unprepared. Nevertheless, they were strenuous in their opposition. They alledged that the bill, instead of strengthening, would certainly weaken the church of England, by plucking off her best feathers, investing her enemies with power, and sharing with churchmen the civil and military employments of which they were then wholly possessed. Earl Cowper declared himself against that part of the bill by which some clauses of the test and corporation-acts were repealed; because he looked upon those acts as the main bulwark of our excellent constitution in church

and state, which ought to be inviolably preserved. C H A P.
 The Earl of Ilay opposed the bill, because, in his II.
 opinion, it infringed the *pacta conventa* of the treaty 1718.
 of Union, by which the bounds both of the church
 of England and of the church of Scotland were fixed
 and settled; and he was apprehensive, if the articles
 of the Union were broke with respect to one church,
 it might afterwards be a precedent to break them
 with respect to the other. The Archbishop of Can-
 terbury said the acts which by this bill would be
 repealed were the main bulwark and supporters of
 the English church: he expressed all imaginable
 tenderness for well-meaning conscientious dissenters;
 but he could not forbear saying some among that sect
 made a wrong use of the favor and indulgence shown
 to them at the Revolution, though they had the
 least share in that happy event: it was, therefore,
 thought necessary for the legislature to interpose,
 and put a stop to the scandalous practice of occasional
 conformity. He added, that it would be needless
 to repeal the act against schism, since no advantage
 had been taken of it, to the prejudice of the dissen-
 ters. Dr. Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor, endeavoured
 to prove that the occasional and schism-acts were
 in effect persecuting laws; and that by admitting the
 principal of self-defence and self-preservation, in
 matters of religion, all the persecutions maintained
 by the heathens against the professors of Christia-
 nity, and even the popish Inquisition, might be
 justified. With respect to the power of which many
 clergymen appeared so fond and so zealous, he
 owned the desire of power and riches was natural

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to all men ; but that he had learned both from reason and from the gospel, that this desire must be kept within due bounds , and not intrench upon the rights and liberties of their fellow-creatures and countrymen. After a long debate, the House agreed to leave out some clauses concerning the test and corporation-acts : then the bill was committed , and afterwards passed. In the Lower House it met with violent opposition , in spite of which it was carried by the majority.

§ XII. The King, on the seventeenth day of December, sent a message to the Commons, importing that all his endeavours to procure redress for the injuries done to his subjects by the King of Spain having proved ineffectual, he had found it necessary to declare war against that monarch. When a motion was made for an address, to assure the King they would chearfully support him in the prosecution of the war, Mr. Shippen and some other members said they did not see the necessity of involving the nation in a war on account of some grievances of which the merchants complained , as these might be amicably redressed. Mr. Stanhope assured the House, that he had presented five-and-twenty memorials to the ministry of Spain on that subject, without success. Mr. Methuen accounted for the dilatory proceeding of the Spanish court in commercial affairs , by explaining the great variety of regulations in the several provinces and ports of that kingdom. It was suggested, that the ministry paid very little regard to the trade and interest of the nation ; inasmuch as it appeared by the answer

from a secretary of state to the letter of the Marquis de Monteleone, that they would have overlooked the violation of the treaties of commerce, provided Spain had accepted the conditions stipulated in the quadruple alliance; for it was there expressly said that his Majesty, the King of Great-Britain, did not seek to aggrandize himself by any new acquisition, but was rather inclined to sacrifice something of his own to procure the general quiet and tranquillity of Europe. A member observed that nobody could tell how far that sacrifice would have extended; but certainly it was a very uncommon stretch of condescension. This sacrifice was said to be the cession of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, which the Regent of France had offered to the King of Spain, provided he would accede to the quadruple alliance. Horatio Walpole observed, that the disposition of Sicily in favor of the Emperor was an infraction of the treaty of Utrecht; and his brother exclaimed against the injustice of attacking the Spanish fleet before a declaration of war. Notwithstanding all these arguments and objections, the majority agreed to the address; and such another was carried in the Upper-House without a division. The declaration of war against Spain was published with the usual solemnities; but this war was not a favorite of the people, and, therefore, did not produce those acclamations that were usual on such occasions.

§ XIII. Mean while Cardinal Alberoni employed all his intrigues, power, and industry, for the gratification of his revenge. He caused new ships to be built, the sea-ports to be put in a posture of defence,

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succours to be sent to Sicily, and the proper measures to be taken for the security of Sardinia. He, by means of the Prince of Cellamare, the Spanish ambassador of Paris, caballed with the malecontents of that kingdom, who were numerous and powerful. A scheme was actually formed for seizing the Regent, and securing the person of the King. The Duke of Orleans owed the first intimation of this plot to King George, who gave him to understand, that a conspiracy was formed against his person and government. The Regent immediately took measures for watching the conduct of all suspected persons; but the whole intrigue was discovered by accident. The Prince de Cellamare intrusted his dispatches to the Abbé Portocarrero, and to a son of the Marquis de Monteleone. These emissaries set out from Paris in a post-chaise, and were overturned. The Postilion overheard Portocarrero say he would not have lost his portmanteau for a hundred thousand pistoles. The man, at his return to Paris, gave notice to the government of what he had observed. The Spaniards, being pursued, were overtaken and seized at Poitiers, with the portmanteau, in which the Regent found two letters that made him acquainted with the particulars of the conspiracy. The Prince de Cellamare was immediately conducted to the frontiers: the Duke of Maine, the Marquis de Pompadour, the Cardinal de Polignac, and many other persons of distinction, were committed to different prisons. The Regent declared war against Spain, on the twenty-ninth day of December; and an army of six-and-thirty thousand men began its march towards

that kingdom in January, under the command of the Duke of Berwick. C H A P.

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§ XIV. Cardinal Alberoni had likewise formed a scheme in favor of the Pretender. The Duke of Ormond repairing to Madrid, held conference with his eminence; and measures were concerted for exciting another insurrection in Great-Britain. The Chevalier de St. George quitted Urbino by stealth; and embarking at Nettuno, landed at Cagliari in March. From thence he took his passage to Roses in Catalonia, and proceeded to Madrid, where he was received with great cordiality, and treated as King of Great-Britain. An armament had been equipped of ten ships of war and transports, having on board six thousand regular troops, with arms for twelve thousand men. The command of this fleet was bestowed on the Duke of Ormond, with the title of Captain-General of his most Catholic Majesty. He was provided with declarations in the name of that king, importing that for many good reasons he had sent part of his land and sea-forces into England and Scotland, to act as auxiliaries to King James. His Britannic Majesty having received from the Regent of France timely notice of this intended invasion, offered, by proclamation, rewards to those that should apprehend the Duke of Ormond, or any gentleman embarked in that expedition. Troops were ordered to assemble in the north, and in the west of England: two thousand men were demanded of the States-General: a strong squadron was equipped to oppose the Spanish armament; and the Duke of Orleans made a proffer to King George of twenty battalions for his service.

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§ XV. His Majesty having communicated to both Houses of parliament the repeated advices he had received touching this projected descent, they promised to support him against all his enemies. They desired he would augment his forces by sea and land; and assured him they would make good the extraordinary expense. Two thousand men were landed from Holland, and six battalions of Imperialists from the Austrian Netherlands. The Duke of Ormond sailed from Cadiz, and proceeded as far as Cape Finisterre, where his fleet was dispersed and disabled by a violent storm; which entirely defeated the purposed expedition. Two frigates, however, arrived in Scotland, with the Earls Marischal and Seaforth, the Marquis of Tullibardine, some field-officers, three hundred Spaniards, and arms for two thousand men. They were joined by a small body of Highlanders, and possessed themselves of Donan Castle. Against these adventurers General Wightman marched with a body of regular troops from Inverness. They had taken possession of the pass at Glenshiel; but, at the approach of the King's forces, retired to the pass at Strachell, which they resolved to defend. They were attacked and driven from one eminence to another till night, when the Highlanders dispersed; and next day the Spaniards surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Marischal, Seaforth, and Tullibardine, with some officers, retired to one of the western isles, in order to wait for an opportunity of being conveyed to the continent.

§ XVI. On the last day of February the Duke of Somerset represented in the House of Lords, that the

number of peers being very much increased, especially since the union of the two kingdoms, it seemed absolutely necessary to take effectual measures for preventing the inconveniencies that might attend the creation of a great number of peers, to serve a present purpose: an expedient which had been actually taken in the late reign. He, therefore, moved that a bill should be brought in, to settle and limit the peerage, in such a manner, that the number of English peers should not be enlarged beyond six above the present number, which, upon failure of male issue, might be supplied by new creations: that, instead of the sixteen elective peers from Scotland, twenty-five should be made hereditary on the part of that kingdom; and that this number, upon failure of heirs male, should be supplied from the other members of the Scottish peerage. This bill was intended as a restraint upon the Prince of Wales, who happened to be at variance with the present ministry. The motion was supported by the Duke of Argyle, now lord-steward of the household, the Earls of Sunderland and Carlisle. It was opposed by the Earl of Oxford, who said, that although he expected nothing from the crown; he would never give his vote for lopping off so valuable a branch of the prerogative, which enabled the King to reward merit and virtuous actions. The debate was adjourned to the second day of March, when Earl Stanhope delivered a message from the King, intimating, that as they had under consideration the state of the British peerage, he had so much at heart the settling it upon such a foundation as might secure the freedom

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and constitution of parliaments in all future ages, that he was willing his prerogative should not stand in the way of so great and necessary a work. Another violent debate ensued between the two factions. The question here, as in almost every other dispute, was not, Whether the measure proposed was advantageous to the nation? but, Whether the Tory or the Whig-interest should predominate in parliament? Earl Cowper affirmed that the part of the bill relating to the Scottish peerage was a manifest violation of the treaty of Union, as well as a flagrant piece of injustice, as it would deprive persons of their right, without being heard, and without any pretence or forfeiture on their part. He observed that the Scottish peers excluded from the number of the twenty-five would be in a worse condition than any other subjects in the kingdom; for they would be neither electing nor elected, neither representing nor represented. These objections were over-ruled: several resolutions were taken agreeably to the motion; and the judges were ordered to prepare and bring in the bill'. This measure alarmed the generality of Scottish peers, as well as many English commoners, who saw in the bill the avenues of dignity and title shut up against them; and they did not fail to exclaim against it, as an encroachment upon the fundamental maxims of the constitution. Treatises were writ and published on both sides of the question; and a national clamor began to arise,

^s Annals. Corbet. Tinda'. Hist. Reg. Deb. in Par. Lives of the Admirals.

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when Earl Stanhope observed, in the House, that as the bill had raised strange apprehensions, he thought it advisable to postpone the further consideration of it till a more proper opportunity. It was accordingly dropped, and the parliament prorogued on the eighteenth day of April, on which occasion his Majesty told both Houses, that the Spanish King had acknowledged the Pretender.

§ XVII. The King having appointed lords-justices to rule the kingdom in his absence, embarked in May for Holland; from whence he proceeded to Hanover, where he concluded a peace with Ulrica, the new Queen of Sweden. By this treaty Sweden yielded for ever to the royal and electoral House of Brunswick the duchies of Bremen and Verden, with all their dependencies: King George obliged himself to pay a million of rixdollars to the Queen of Sweden; and to renew, as King of Great Britain and Elector of Hanover, the alliances formerly subsisting between his predecessors and that kingdom. He likewise mediated a peace between Sweden and his former allies, the Danes, the Prussians, and the Poles. The Czar, however, refused to give up his schemes of conquest. He sent his fleet to the Scheuron or Batses of Sweden, where his troops landing, to the number of fifteen thousand, committed dreadful outrages: but Sir John Norris, who commanded an English squadron in those seas, having orders to support the negociations, and oppose any hostilities that might be committed, the Czar, dreading the fate of the Spanish navy, thought proper to recal his fleet. In the Mediterranean,

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Admiral Byng acted with unwearied vigor in assisting the Imperialists to finish the conquest of Sicily. The court of Vienna had agreed to send a strong body of forces to finish the reduction of that island; and the command in this expedition was bestowed upon the Count de Merci, with whom Sir George Byng conferred at Naples. This Admiral supplied them with ammunition and artillery from the Spanish prizes. He took the whole re-enforcement under his convoy, and saw them safely landed in the bay of Patti, to the number of three thousand five hundred horse, and ten thousand infantry. Count Merci thinking himself more than a match for the Spanish forces commanded by the Marquis de Lede, attacked him in a strong camp at Franca-Villa; and was repulsed with the loss of five thousand men, himself being dangerously wounded in the action. Here his army must have perished for want of provision, had not they been supplied by the English navy.

§ XVIII. Admiral Byng no sooner learned the bad success of the attack at Franca-Villa, than he embarked two battalions from the garrison of Melazzo, and about a thousand recruits, whom he sent under a convoy through the Faro to Schesobay, in order to re-enforce the Imperial army. He afterwards assisted at a council of war with the German generals, who, in consequence of his advice, undertook the siege of Messina. Then he repaired to Naples, where he proposed to Count Gallas, the new viceroy, that the troops destined for the conquest of Sardinia should be first landed in Sicily, and co-operate towards the conquest of that

island. The proposal was immediately dispatched to the court of Vienna. In the mean time, the Admiral returned to Sicily, and assisted in the siege of Messina. The town surrendered: the garrison retired into the citadel; and the remains of the Spanish navy, which had escaped at Passaro, were now destroyed in the Mole. The Emperor approved of the scheme proposed by the English Admiral, to whom he wrote a very gracious letter, intimating that he had dispatched orders to the governor of Milan, to detach the troops designed for Sardinia to Vado, in order to be transported into Italy. The Admiral charged himself with the performance of this service. Having furnished the Imperial army before Messina with another supply of cannon, powder, and shot, upon his own credit, he set sail for Vado, where he surmounted numberless difficulties, started by the jealousy of Count Bonneval, who was unwilling to see his troops, destined for Sardinia, now diverted to another expedition, in which he could not enjoy the chief command. At length, Admiral Byng saw the forces embarked, and conveyed them to Messina, the citadel of which surrendered in a few days after their arrival. By this time the Marquis de Lede had fortified a strong post at Castro Giovanne, in the centre of the island; and cantoned his troops about Aderno, Palermo, and Catanea. The Imperialists could not pretend to attack him in this situation, nor could they remain in the neighbourhood of Messina on account of the scarcity of provisions. They would, therefore, have been obliged to quit the island during the winter, had not

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the Admiral undertaken to transport them by sea to Trapani, where they could extend themselves in a plentiful country. He not only executed this enterprise; but even supplied them with corn from Tunis, as the harvests of Sicily had been gathered into the Spanish magazines. It was the second day of March before the last embarkation of the Imperial troops were landed at Trapani.

§ XIX. The Marquis de Lede immediately retired with his army to Alcamo, from whence he sent his mareschal de camp to Count Merci and the English Admiral, with overtures for evacuating Sicily. The proposals were not disagreeable to the Germans; but Sir George Byng declared that the Spaniards should not quit the island while the war continued, as he foresaw that these troops would be employed against France or England. He agreed, however, with Count Merci, in proposing, that if the Marquis would surrender Palermo, and retire into the middle part of the island, they would consent to an armistice for six weeks, until the sentiments of their different courts should be known. The Marquis offered to surrender Palermo, in consideration of a suspension of arms for three months; but, while this negociation was depending, he received advice from Madrid, that a general peace was concluded. Nevertheless, he broke off the treaty, in obedience to a secret order for that purpose. The King of Spain hoped to obtain the restitution of St. Sebastian's, Fontarabia, and other places taken in the course of the war, in exchange for the evacuation of Sicily. Hostilities were continued until the Admiral received

advice from the Earl of Stair at Paris, that the Spanish ambassador at the Hague had signed the quadruple alliance. By the same courier packets were delivered to the Count de Merci and the Marquis de Lede, which last gave the Admiral and Imperial general to understand that he looked upon the peace as a thing concluded; and was ready to treat for a cessation of hostilities. They insisted upon his delivering up Palermo: on the other hand, he urged, that as their masters were in treaty for settling the terms of evacuating Sicily and Sardinia, he did not think himself authorized to agree to a cessation, except on condition that each party should remain on the ground they occupied, and expect further orders from their principals. After a fruitless interview between the three chiefs at the Cassine de Rossignola, the Imperial general resolved to undertake the siege of Palermo: with this view he decamped from Alcamo on the eighteenth day of April, and followed the Marquis de Lede, who retreated before him, and took possession of the advantageous posts that commanded the passes into the plain of Palermo; but Count Merci, with indefatigable diligence, marched over the mountains, while the Admiral coasted along shore, attending the motions of the army. The Spanish general perceiving the Germans advancing into the plain, retired under the cannon of Palermo, and fortified his camp with strong intrenchments. On the second day of May the Germans took one of the enemy's redoubts by surprise, and the Marquis de Lede ordered all his forces to be drawn out to retake this fortification: both armies

BOOK were on the point of engaging when a courier arrived
II. in a felucca, with a packet for the Marquis, con-
1719. taining full powers to treat and agree about the evacuation of the island, and the transportation of the army to Spain. He forthwith drew off his army; and sent a trumpet to the general and Admiral, with letters, informing them of the orders he had received. Commissioners were appointed on each side, the negociations begun, and the conventions signed in a very few days. The Germans were put in possession of Palermo, and the Spanish army marched to Tauromini, from whence they were transported to Barcelona.

§ XX. The Admiral continued in the Mediterranean until he had seen the islands of Sicily and Sardinia evacuated by the Spaniards, and the mutual cessions executed between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy, in consequence of which, four battalions of Piedmontese troops were transported from Palermo to Sardinia, and took possession of Cagliari in the name of their master. In a word, Admiral Byng bore such a considerable share in this war of Sicily, that the fate of the island depended wholly on his courage, vigilance, and conduct. When he waited on his Majesty at Hanover, he met with a very gracious reception. The King told him he had found out the secret of obliging his enemies as well as his friends; for the court of Spain had mentioned him in the most honorable terms, with respect to his candid and friendly deportment, in providing transports and other necessaries for the embarkation of their troops, and in protecting them

from oppression. He was appointed treasurer of the navy, and Rear-Admiral of Great-Britain: in a little time the King ennobled him, by the title of Viscount Torrington: he was declared a privy-counsellor; and afterwards made knight of the Bath, at the revival of that order. During these occurrences in the Mediterranean, the Duke of Berwick advanced with the French army to the frontiers of Spain, where he took Fort-Passage and destroyed six ships of war that were on the stocks: then he reduced Fontarabia and St. Sebastian's, together with Port Antonio in the bottom of the Bay of Biscay. In this last exploit the French were assisted by a detachment of English seamen, who burned two large ships unfinished, and a great quantity of naval stores. The King of England with a view to indemnify himself for the expense of the war, projected the conquest of Corunna in Biscay, and of Peru in South-America. Four thousand men, commanded by Lord Cobham, were embarked at the Isle of Wight, and sailed on the twenty-first day of September, under convoy of five ships of war, conducted by Admiral Mighels. Instead of making an attempt upon Corunna, they reduced Vigo with very little difficulty; and Pont-a-Vedra submitted without resistance: here they found some brass-artillery, small arms, and military stores, with which they returned to England. In the mean time Captain Johnson, with two English ships of war, destroyed the same number of Spanish ships in the port of Ribadeo, to the eastward of Cape Ortigas; so that the naval power of Spain was

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totally ruined. The expedition to the West-Indies was prevented by the peace. Spain being oppressed on all sides, and utterly exhausted, Philip saw the necessity of a speedy pacification. He now perceived the madness of Alberoni's ambitious projects. That minister was personally disagreeable to the Emperor, the King of England, and the Regent of France, who had declared they would hearken to no proposals while he should continue in office: the Spanish monarch, therefore, divested him of his employment; and ordered him to quit the kingdom in three weeks. The Marquis de Beretti Landi, minister from the court of Madrid at the Hague, delivered a plan of pacification to the States: but it was rejected by the allies; and Philip was obliged at last to accede to the quadruple alliance.

§ XXI. On the fourteenth day of November King George returned to England, and on the twenty-third opened the session of parliament with a speech, in which he told them, that all Europe, as well as Great-Britain, was on the point of being delivered from the calamities of war, by the influence of British arms and councils. He exhorted the Commons to concert proper means for lessening the debts of the nation; and concluded with a panegyric upon his own government. It must be owned he had acted with equal vigor and deliberation in all the troubles he had encountered since his accession to the throne. The addresses of both Houses were as warm as he could desire. They in particular extolled him for having interposed in

behalf of the protestants of Hungary, Poland, and Germany, who had been oppressed by the practices of the popish clergy, and presented to him memorials, containing a detail of their grievances. He and all the other protestant powers warmly interceded in their favor; but the grievances were not redressed. The peerage-bill was now revived by the Duke of Buckingham; and, in spite of all opposition, passed through the House of Lords. It had been projected by Earl Stanhope, and eagerly supported by the Earl of Sunderland; therefore, Mr. Robert Walpole attacked it in the House of Commons with extraordinary vehemence. Here too it was opposed by a considerable number of Whig-members; and, after warm debates, rejected by a large majority. The next object that engrossed the attention of the parliament was a bill for better securing the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Great-Britain. Maurice Annesley had appealed to the House of Peers in England, from a decree of the House of Peers in Ireland, which was reversed. The British peers ordered the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland to put Mr. Annesley in possession of the lands he had lost by the decree in that kingdom. The Barons obeyed this order; and the Irish House of Peers passed a vote against them, as having acted in derogation to the King's prerogative in his high court of parliament in Ireland, as also of the rights and privileges of that kingdom, and of the parliament thereof: they likewise, ordered them to be taken into the custody of the usher of the black-rod: they transmitted a long

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representation to the King, demonstrating their right to the final judicature of causes; and the Duke of Leeds, in the Upper House, urged, fifteen reasons to support the claim of the Irish peers. Notwithstanding these arguments, the House of Lords in England resolved that the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland had acted with courage, according to law, in support of his Majesty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the crown of Great-Britain. They addressed the King to confer on them some marks of his royal favor, as a recompence for the ill usage they had undergone. Finally, they prepared the bill, by which the Irish House of Lords was deprived of all right to pass sentence, affirm, or reverse any judgment or decree, given or made in any court within that kingdom. In the House of Commons it was opposed by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Hungerford, Lords Moleworth and Tyrconnel: but was carried by the majority, and received the royal assent.

§ XXII. The King's having recommended to the Commons the consideration of proper means for lessening the national debt, was a prelude to the famous South-Sea act, which became productive of so much mischief and infatuation. The scheme was projected by Sir John Blunt, who had been bred a scrivener, and was possessed of all the cunning, plausibility, and boldness requisite for such an undertaking. He communicated his plan to Mr. Aislaby, the chancellor of the Exchequer, as well as to one of the secretaries of state. He answered all their objections; and the project was adopted. They foresaw

their own private advantage in the execution of the design, which was imparted in the name of the South-Sea company, of which Blunt was a director, who influenced all their proceedings. The pretence for the scheme was to discharge the national debt, by reducing all the funds into one. The Bank and South-Sea company outbid each other. The South-Sea company altered their original plan, and offered such high terms to government, that the proposals of the Bank were rejected; and a bill was ordered to be brought into the House of Commons, formed on the plan presented by the South-Sea company. While this affair was in agitation, the stock of that company rose from one hundred and thirty to near four hundred, in consequence of the conduct of the Commons, who had rejected a motion for a clause in the bill, to fix what share in the capital stock of the company should be vested in those proprietors of the annuities who might voluntarily subscribe; or how many years purchase in money they should receive in subscribing, at the choice of the proprietors⁶. In the House of Lords, the bill was opposed by Lord North and Grey, Earl Cowper, the Dukes of Wharton, Buckingham, and other peers. They affirmed it was calculated for enriching a few and impoverishing a great number: that it countenanced the fraudulent and pernicious practice of stock-jobbing, which diverted the genius of the people from trade and industry: that it would give foreigners the opportunity to double and treble the

⁶ Annals. Corbet. Hist. Reg. Tindal. Lives of the Admirals.

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vast sums they had in the public funds; and they would be tempted to realize and withdraw their capital and immense gains to other countries; so that Great-Britain would be drained of its gold and silver: that the artificial and prodigious rise of the South-Sea stock was a dangerous bait, which might decoy many unwary people to their ruin, alluring them by a false prospect of gain to part with the fruits of their industry, to purchase imaginary riches: that the addition of above thirty millions capital would give such power to the South-Sea company, as might endanger the liberties of the nation; for by their extensive interest they would be able to influence most, if not all the elections of the members; and consequently over-rule the resolutions of the House of Commons. Earl Cowper urged that in all public bargains the individuals in the administration ought to take care, that they shall be more advantageous to the state than to private persons; but that a contrary method had been followed in the contract made with the South-Sea company; for, should the stocks be kept at the advanced price to which they had been raised by the oblique arts of stock-jobbing, either that company or its principal members would gain above thirty millions, of which no more than one fourth part would be given towards the discharge of the national debts. He apprehended that the re-purchase of annuities would meet with insuperable difficulties: and, in such case, none but a few persons who were in the secret, who had bought stocks at a low rate, and afterwards sold them at a high price,

would in the end be gainers by the project. The Earl of Sunderland answered their objections. He declared that those who countenanced the scheme of the South - Sea company, had nothing in view but the advantage of the nation. He owned that the managers for that company had undoubtedly a prospect of private gain, either to themselves or to their corporation; but, he said, when the scheme was accepted, neither the one nor the other could foresee that the stocks would have risen to such a height: that if they had continued as they were, the public would have had the far greater share of the advantage accruing from the scheme; and should they be kept up to the present high price, it was but reasonable that the South - Sea company should enjoy the profits procured to it by the wise management and industry of the directors, which would enable it to make large dividends, and thereby accomplish the purpose of the scheme. The bill passed without amendment or division; and, on the seventh day of April, received the royal assent. By this act the South - Sea company was authorized to take in, by purchase or subscription, the irredeemable debts of the nation, stated at sixteen millions five hundred forty - six thousand four hundred eighty - two pounds, seven shillings, one penny farthing, at such times as they should find convenient before the first day of March of the ensuing year, and without any compulsion on any of the proprietors, at such rates and prices as should be agreed upon between the company and the respective proprietors. They were likewise authorized

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to take in all the redeemable debts, amounting to the same sum as that of the irredeemables, either by purchase, by taking subscriptions, or by paying off the creditors. For the liberty of taking in the national debts, and increasing their capital stock accordingly, the company consented that their present, and to be increased annuity, should be continued at five per cent. till Midsummer, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven; from thence to be reduced to four per cent. and be redeemable by parliament. In consideration of this and other advantages expressed in the act, the company declared themselves willing to make such payments into the receipt of the Exchequer as were specified for the use of the public, to be applied to the discharge of the public debts incurred before Christmas, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen. The sums they were obliged to pay for the liberty of taking in the redeemable debts, four years and a half's purchase for all the long and short annuities that should be subscribed, and one year's purchase for such long annuities as should not be subscribed, amounted on the execution of the act to about seven millions. For enabling the company to raise this sum, they were empowered to make calls for money from their members; to open books of subscription; to grant annuities redeemable by the company; to borrow money upon any contract or bill under their common seal, or on the credit of their capital stock; to convert the money demanded of their members into additional stock, without, however, making any addition to the

company's annuities, payable out of the public duties. It was enacted, That out of the first monies arising from the sums paid by the company into the Exchequer, such public debts, carrying interest at five per cent. incurred before the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, founded upon any former act of parliament, as were now redeemable, or might be redeemed before the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-two, should be discharged in the first place: that then all the remainder should be applied towards paying off so much of the capital stock of the company as should then carry an interest of five per cent. It was likewise provided that after Midsummer, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, the company should not be paid off in any sums being less than one million at a time.

§ XXIII. The heads of the Royal-Assurance and London-Assurance companies, understanding that the civil-list was considerably in arrears, offered to the ministry six hundred thousand pounds towards the discharge of that debt, on condition of their obtaining the King's charter, with a parliamentary sanction for the establishment of their respective companies. The proposal was embraced; and the King communicated it in a message to the House of Commons, desiring their concurrence. A bill was immediately passed, enabling his Majesty to grant letters of incorporation to the two companies. It soon obtained the royal assent; and, on the eleventh day of June,

B O O K an end was put to the session. This was the age of
 11. interested projects, inspired by a venal spirit of ad-
 1720. venture, the natural consequence of that avarice,
 fraud, and profligacy, which the monied corpora-
 tions had introduced. This of all others is the most
 unfavorable era for a historian. A reader of senti-
 ment and imagination cannot be entertained or in-
 terested by a dry detail of such transactions as admit
 of no warmth, no coloring, no embellishment; a
 detail which serves only to exhibit an inanimate pic-
 ture of tasteless vice and mean degeneracy.

§ XXIV. By this time an alliance offensive and de-
 fensive was concluded at Stockholm between King
 George and the Queen of Sweden, by which his
 Majesty engaged to send a fleet into the Baltic, to
 act against the Czar of Muscovy, in case that mo-
 narch should reject reasonable proposals of peace.
 Peter loudly complained of the insolent interposi-
 tion of King George, alledging that he had failed
 in his engagements, both as Elector of Hanover
 and King of Great-Britain. His resident at London
 presented a long memorial on this subject, which
 was answered by the British and Hanoverian minis-
 try. These recriminations served only to inflame
 the difference. The Czar continued to prosecute
 the war; and at length concluded a peace without
 a mediator. At the instances, however, of King
 George, and the Regent of France, a treaty of
 peace was signed between the Queen of Sweden and
 the King of Prussia, to whom that princess ceded the
 city of Stetin, the district between the rivers Oder
 and Pehnne, with the isles of Wollin and Usedom.
 On

On the other hand, he engaged to join the King of Great-Britain in his endeavours to effect a peace between Sweden and Denmark, on condition that the Danish King should restore to Queen Ulrica that part of Pomerania which he had seized: he likewise promised to pay to that Queen two millions of rixdollars, in consideration of the cessions she had made. The treaty between Sweden and Denmark was signed at Frederickstadt in the month of June, through the mediation of the King of Great-Britain, who became guarantee for the Dane's keeping possession of Sleswick. He consented, however, to restore the Upper Pomerania, the isle of Rugen, the city of Wismar, and whatever he had taken from Sweden during the war, in consideration of Sweden's renouncing the exemption from toll in the Sound, and the two belts; and paying to Denmark six hundred thousand rixdollars.

§ XXV. Sir John Norris had again sailed to the Baltic with a strong squadron, to give weight to the King's mediation. When he arrived at Copenhagen he wrote a letter to Prince Dolgorouki, the Czar's Ambassador at the court of Denmark, signifying that he and the King's envoy at Stockholm were vested with full powers to act jointly or separately in quality of plenipotentiaries, in order to effect a peace between Sweden and Muscovy, in the way of mediation. The Prince answered that the Czar had nothing more at heart than peace and tranquillity; and in case his Britannic Majesty had any proposals to make to that prince, he hoped the Admiral would excuse him from receiving them,

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as they might be delivered in a much more compendious way. The English fleet immediately joined that of Sweden as auxiliaries; but they had no opportunity of acting against the Russian squadron, which secured itself in Revel. Ulrica, Queen of Sweden, and sister to Charles XII. had married the Prince of Hesse, and was extremely desirous that he should be joined with her in the administration of the regal power. She wrote a separate letter to each of the four states desiring they would confer on him the sovereignty; and, after some opposition from the nobles, he was actually elected King of Sweden. He sent one of his general officers to notify his elevation to the Czar, who congratulated him upon his accession to the throne: this was the beginning of a negociation which ended in peace, and established the tranquillity of the North. In the midst of these transactions King George set out from England for his Hanoverian dominions; but, before he departed from Great-Britain he was reconciled to the Prince of Wales, through the endeavours of the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Walpole, who with Earl Cowper, Lord Townshend, Mr. Methuen, and Mr. Pulteney, were received into favor, and re-united with the ministry. The Earls of Dorset and Bridgewater were promoted to the title of dukes: Lord Viscount Castleton was made an Earl; Hugh Boscawen was created a baron, and Viscount Falmouth; and John Wallop, Baron and Viscount of Lymington.

§ XXVI. While the King was involved at Hanover in a labyrinth of negociations, the South-Sea scheme

produced a kind of national delirium in his English dominions. Blunt, the projector, had taken the hint of his plan from the famous Mississippi-scheme formed by Law, which in the preceding year had raised such a ferment in France, and entailed ruin upon many thousand families of that kingdom. In the scheme of Law, there was something substantial. An exclusive trade to Louisiana promised some advantage; though the design was defeated by the frantic eagerness of the people, Law himself became the dupe of the Regent, who transferred the burden of fifteen hundred millions of the King's debts to the shoulders of the subjects; while the projector was sacrificed as the scape-goat of the political iniquity. The South-Sea scheme promised no commercial advantage of any consequence. It was buoyed up by nothing but the folly and rapaciousness of individuals, which became so blind and extravagant, that Blunt, with moderate talents, was able to impose upon the whole nation, and make tools of the other directors, to serve his own purposes, and those of a few associates. When this projector found that the South-Sea stock did not rise according to his expectation upon the bills being passed, he circulated a report, that Gibraltar and Port-Mahon would be exchanged for some places in Peru; by which means the English trade to the South-Sea would be protected and enlarged. This rumor, diffused by his emissaries, acted like a contagion. In five days the directors opened their books for a subscription of one million, at the rate of three hundred pounds for every hundred pounds

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capital. Persons of all ranks crowded to the house in such a manner, that the first subscription exceeded two millions of original stock. In a few days this stock advanced to three hundred and forty pounds: and the subscriptions were sold for double the price of the first payment. Without entering into a detail of the proceedings, or explaining the scandalous arts that were practised to enhance the value of the stock, and decoy the unwary, we shall only observe, that by the promise of prodigious dividends, and other infamous arts, the stock was raised to one thousand; and the whole nation infected with the spirit of stock-jobbing to an astonishing degree. All distinctions of party, religion, sex, character, and circumstance, were swallowed up in this universal concern, or in some such pecuniary project. Exchange-ally was filled with a strange concourse of statesmen and clergymen, churchmen and dissenters, Whigs and Tories, physicians, lawyers, tradesmen, and even with multitudes of females. All other professions and employments were utterly neglected; and the people's attention wholly engrossed by this and other chimerical schemes, which were known by the denomination of bubbles. New companies started up every day, under the countenance of the prime nobility. The Prince of Wales was constituted governor of the Welch copper company: the Duke of Chandos appeared at the head of the York-buildings company: the Duke of Bridgewater formed a third, for building houses in London and Westminster. About a hundred such schemes were

projected and put in execution, to the ruin of many thousands. The sums proposed to be raised by these expedients amounted to three hundred millions sterling, which exceeded the value of all the lands in England. The nation was so intoxicated with the spirit of adventure, that people became a prey to the grossest delusion. An obscure projector, pretending to have formed a very advantageous scheme, which, however, he did not explain, published proposals for a subscription, in which he promised, that in one month the particulars of his project should be disclosed. In the mean time, he declared that every person paying two guineas should be entitled to a subscription for one hundred pounds, which would produce that sum yearly. In one forenoon this adventurer received a thousand of these subscriptions; and in the evening set out for another kingdom. The King, before his departure, had issued a proclamation against these unlawful projects: the lords-justices afterwards dismissed all the petitions that had been presented for charters and patents; and the Prince of Wales renounced the company of which he had been elected governor. The South-Sea scheme raised such a flood of eager avidity and extravagant hope, that the majority of the directors were swept along with it, even contrary to their own sense and inclination; but, Blunt and his accomplices still directed the stream.

§ XXVII. The infatuation prevailed till the eighth day of September, when the stock began to fall. Then did some of the adventurers awake from

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their delirium. The number of the sellers daily increased. On the twenty - ninth day of the month, the stock had sunk to one hundred and fifty : several eminent goldsmiths and bankers, who had lent great sums upon it, were obliged to stop payment, and abscond. The ebb of this portentous tide was so violent, that it bore down every thing in its way ; and an infinite number of families was overwhelmed with ruin. Public credit sustained a terrible shock : the nation was thrown into a dangerous ferment ; and nothing was heard but the ravings of grief, disappointment, and despair. Some principal members of the ministry were deeply concerned in these fraudulent transactions : when they saw the price of stock sinking daily, they employed all their influence with the Bank to support the credit of the South-Sea company. That corporation agreed, though with reluctance, to subscribe into the stock of the South-Sea company, valued at four hundred per cent. three millions five hundred thousand pounds, which the company was to repay to the Bank on Lady-day and Micheldmas of the ensuing year. This transaction was managed by Mr. Robert Walpole, who, with his own hand, wrote the minute of agreement, afterwards known by the name of the Bank Contract. Books were opened at the Bank, to take in a subscription for the support of public credit ; and considerable sums of money were brought in. By this expedient the stock was raised at first, and those who contrived it seized the opportunity to realize. But the bankruptcy of goldsmiths and the Sword-blade company, from the fall of South-Sea stock,

occasioned such a run upon the Bank, that the money was paid away faster than it could be received from the subscription. Then the South-Sea stock sunk again; and the directors of the Bank, finding themselves in danger of being involved in that company's ruin, renounced the agreement, which, indeed, they were under no obligation to perform, for it was drawn up in such a manner, as to be no more than the rough draft of a subsequent agreement, without due form, penalty, or clause of obligation. All expedients having failed, and the clamors of the people daily increasing, expresses were dispatched to Hanover, representing the state of the nation, and pressing the King to return. He accordingly shortened his intended stay in Germany, and arrived in England on the eleventh day of November.

§ XXVIII. The parliament being assembled on the eighth day of December, his Majesty expressed his concern for the unhappy turn of affairs, which had so deeply affected the public credit at home: he earnestly desired the Commons to consider of the most effectual and speedy methods to restore the national credit, and fix it upon a lasting establishment. The Lower House was too much interested in the calamity, to postpone the consideration of that subject. The members seemed to lay aside all party-distinctions, and vie with each other in promoting an inquiry, by which justice might be done to the injured nation. They ordered the directors to produce an account of all their proceedings. Sir Joseph Jekyll moved, that a select

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committee might be appointed, to examine the particulars of this transaction. Mr. Walpole, now paymaster of the forces, observed, that such a method would protract the inquiry, while the public credit lay in a bleeding condition. He told the House he had formed a scheme for restoring public credit; but, before he would communicate this plan, desired to know whether the subscriptions of public debts and incumbrances, money-subscriptions, and other contracts made with the South-Sea company, should remain in the present state. After a warm debate, the question was carried in the affirmative, with this addition, "Unless altered for the ease and relief of the proprietors, by a general court of the South-Sea company, or set aside in due course of law." Next day Walpole produced his scheme to engraft nine millions of South-Sea stock into the Bank of England, and the like sum into the East-India company, on certain conditions. The House voted, that proposals should be received from the Bank, and those two companies, on this subject. These being delivered, the Commons resolved, that an engrossment of nine millions of the capital stock of the South-Sea company, into the capital stock of the Bank and East-India company, as proposed by these companies, would contribute very much to the restoring public credit. A bill upon this resolution was brought in, passed through both Houses, and received the royal assent. Another bill was enacted into a law, for restraining the sub-governor, deputy-governor, directors, treasurer, under-treasurer, cashier, secretary, and accountants, of the South-Sea company, from quitting

the kingdom, till the end of the next session of parliament; and for discovering their estates and effects, so as to prevent them from being transported or alienated. A committee of secrecy was chosen by ballot, to examine all the books, papers, and proceedings, relating to the execution of the South-Sea act.

§ XXIX. The Lords were not less eager than the Commons to prosecute this inquiry, though divers members in both Houses were deeply involved in the guilt and infamy of the transaction. Earl Stanhope said the estates of the criminals, whether directors or not directors, ought to be confiscated, to repair the public losses. He was seconded by Lord Carteret, and even by the Earl of Sunderland. The Duke of Wharton declared he would give up the best friend he had, should he be found guilty. He observed, that the nation had been plundered in a most flagrant and notorious manner; therefore, they ought to find out and punish the offenders severely, without respect of persons. The sub and deputy governors, the directors and officers of the South-Sea company, were examined at the bar of the House. Then a bill was brought in, disabling them to enjoy any office in that company, or in the East-India company, or in the Bank of England. Three brokers were likewise examined, and made great discoveries. Knight, the treasurer of the South-Sea company, who had been intrusted with secrets of the whole affair, thought proper to withdraw himself from the kingdom. A proclamation was issued to apprehend him; and another for preventing any of the directors from escaping out of the kingdom. At this period, the secret committee informed the

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House of Commons, that they had already discovered a train of the deepest villany and fraud that hell ever contrived to ruin a nation, which in due time they would lay before the House: in the mean while, they thought it highly necessary to secure the persons of some of the directors and principal officers of the South-Sea company, as well as to seize their papers. An order was made to secure the books and papers of Knight, Surman, and Turner. The persons of Sir George Caswel, Sir John Blunt, Sir John Lambert, Sir John Fellows, and Mr. Grigsby, were taken into custody. Sir Theodore Jansen, Mr. Sawbridge, Sir Robert Chaplain, and Mr. Eyles, were expelled the House, and apprehended. Mr. Aislaby resigned his employments of chancellor of the Exchequer and lord of the Treasury; and orders were given to remove all directors of the South-Sea company from the places they possessed under the government.

§ XXX. The Lords, in the course of their examination, discovered that large portions of South-Sea stock had been given to several persons in the administration and House of Commons for promoting the passage of the South-Sea act. The House immediately resolved, that this practice was a notorious and most dangerous species of corruption: that the directors of the South-Sea company having ordered great quantities of their stock to be bought for the service of the company, when it was at a very high-price, and on pretence of keeping up the price of stock; and at the same time several of the directors, and other officers belonging to the company, having, in a clandestine manner,

fold their own stock to the company, such directors and officers were guilty of a notorious fraud and breach of trust, and their so doing was one great cause of the unhappy turn of affairs, that had so much affected public credit. Many other resolutions were taken against that infamous confederacy, in which, however, the innocent were confounded with the guilty. Sir John Blunt refusing to answer certain interrogations, a violent debate arose about the manner in which he should be treated. The Duke of Wharton observed, that the government of the best princes was sometimes rendered intolerable to their subjects by bad ministers: he mentioned the example of Sejanus, who had made a division in the Imperial family, and rendered the reign of Claudius hateful to the Romans. Earl Stanhope conceiving this reflection was aimed at him, was seized with a transport of anger. He undertook to vindicate the ministry; and spoke with such vehemence as produced a violent head-ach, which obliged him to retire. He underwent proper evacuations, and seemed to recover: but next day, in the evening, became lethargic, and being seized with a suffocation, instantly expired. The King deeply regretted the death of this favorite minister, which was the more unfortunate, as it happened at such a critical conjuncture; and he appointed Lord Townshend to fill his place of secretary. Earl Stanhope was survived but a few days by the other secretary, Mr. Craggs, who died of the small pox on the sixteenth day of February. Knight, the cashier of the South-Sea-company, being seized at Tirlmont, by the vigilance of Mr. Gandot, secretary to

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Mr. Leathes, the British resident at Brusse's, was confined in the citadel of Antwerp. Application was made to the court of Vienna, that he should be delivered up to such persons as might be appointed to receive him: but he had found means to interest the States of Brabant in his behalf. They insisted upon their privilege granted by charter, that no person apprehended for any crime in Brabant should be tried in any other country. The House of Commons expressed their indignation at this frivolous pretence: instances were renewed to the Emperor: and in the meantime Knight escaped from the citadel of Antwerp.

§ XXXI. The committee of secrecy found, that, before any subscription could be made, a fictitious stock of five hundred and twenty-four thousand pounds had been disposed of by the directors, to facilitate the passing the bill. Great part of this was distributed among the Earl of Sunderland, Mr. Craggs senior, the Duchess of Kendal, the Countess of Platen and her two nieces, Mr. Secretary Craggs, and Mr. Aislaby, chancellor of the Exchequer. In consequence of the committee's report, the House came to several severe though just resolutions against the directors and officers of the South-Sea-company; and a bill was prepared for the relief of the unhappy sufferers. Mr. Stanhope, one of the secretaries of the Treasury, charged in the report with having large quantities of stock and subscriptions, desired that he might have an opportunity to clear himself. His request was granted; and the affair being discussed, he was cleared by a majority of three voices. Fifty thousand pounds in stock had been taken by Knight

for the use of the Earl of Sunderland. Great part of the House entered eagerly into this inquiry; and a violent dispute ensued. The whole strength of the ministry was mustered in his defence. The majority declared him innocent: the nation in general was of another opinion. He resigned his place of first commissioner in the Treasury, which was bestowed upon Mr. Robert Walpole; but he still retained the confidence of his master. With respect to Mr. Aislaby, the evidence appeared so strong against him, that the Commons resolved, he had promoted the destructive execution of the South-Sea-scheme, with a view to his own exorbitant profit, and combined with the directors in their pernicious practices, to the ruin of public credit. He was expelled the House, and committed to the Tower. Mr. Craggs senior died of the lethargy, before he underwent the censure of the House. Nevertheless, they resolved that he was a notorious accomplice with Robert Knight, and some of the directors, in carrying on their scandalous practices; and, therefore, that all the estate of which he was possessed, from the first day of December in the preceding year, should be applied towards the relief of the unhappy sufferers in the South-Sea-company. The directors, in obedience to the order of the House, delivered inventories of their estates, which were confiscated by act of parliament, towards making good the damages sustained by the company, after a certain allowance was deducted for each, according to his conduct and circumstances⁷.

⁷ Oldmixon. Annals. Hist. Reg. Polit. State. Deb. in Par. Tindal.

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§ XXXII. The delinquents being thus punished by the forfeiture of their fortunes, the House converted their attention to means for repairing the mischiefs which the scheme had produced. This was a very difficult task, on account of the contending interests of those engaged in the South-Sea company, which rendered it impossible to relieve some but at the expense of others. Several wholesome resolutions were taken, and presented with an address to the King, explaining the motives of their proceedings. On the twenty-ninth day of July, the parliament was prorogued for two days only. Then his Majesty, going to the House of Peers, declared that he had called them together again so suddenly, that they might resume the consideration of the state of public credit. The Commons immediately prepared a bill upon the resolutions they had taken. The whole capital stock, at the end of the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty, amounted to about thirty-seven millions eight hundred thousand pounds. The stock allotted to all the proprietors did not exceed twenty-four millions five hundred thousand pounds: the remaining capital stock belonged to the company in their corporate capacity. It was the profit arising from the execution of the South-Sea scheme; and out of this, the bill enacted, that seven millions should be paid to the public. The present act likewise directed several additions to be made to the stock of the proprietors, out of that possessed by the company in their own right: it made a particular distribution of stock, amounting to two millions two hundred thousand pounds; and, upon remitting

five millions of the seven to be paid to the public, annihilated two millions of their capital. It was enacted, that after these distributions, the remaining capital stock should be divided among all the proprietors. This dividend amounted to thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight pence per cent. and deprived the company of eight millions nine hundred thousand pounds. They had lent above eleven millions on stock unredeemed; of which the parliament discharged all the debtors, upon their paying ten per cent. Upon this article the company's loss exceeded six millions nine hundred thousand pounds; for many debtors refused to make any payment. The proprietors of the stock loudly complained of their being deprived of two millions; and the parliament, in the sequel, revived that sum which had been annihilated. While this affair was in agitation petitions from counties, cities, and boroughs, in all parts of the kingdom, were presented to the House, crying for justice against the villany of the directors. Pamphlets and papers were daily published on the same subject; so that the whole nation was exasperated to the highest pitch of resentment. Nevertheless, by the wise and vigorous resolutions of the parliament, the South-Sea-company was soon in a condition to fulfil their engagements with the public: the ferment of the people subsisted; and the credit of the nation was restored.

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- § I. *Bill against atheism and immorality postponed.*
 II. *Session closed.* III. *Alliance between Great-Britain, France, and Spain.* IV. *Plague at Marseilles.*
 V. *Debates in the House of Lords about Mr. Law the projector.* VI. *Sentiments of some Lords touching the war with Spain.* VII. *Petition of the Quakers.*
The parliament dissolved. VIII. *Rumors of a conspiracy. The Bishop of Rochester is committed to the Tower.* IX. *New parliament.* X. *Declaration of the Pretender.* XI. *Report of the secret committee.*
 XII. *Bill of pains and penalties against the Bishop of Rochester.* XIII. *Who is deprived, and driven into perpetual exile.* XIV. *Proceedings against those concerned in the lottery of Harburgh.* XV. *Affairs of the continent.* XVI. *Clamor in Ireland on account of Wood's coinage.* XVII. *Death of the Duke of Orleans.* XVIII. *An act for lessening the public debts.*
 XIX. *Philip, King of Spain, abdicates the throne.* XX. *Abuses in chancery.* XXI. *Trial of the Earl of Macclesfield.* XXII. *Debates about the debts of the civil-list.* XXIII. *A bill in favor of the late Lord Bolingbroke.* XXIV. *Treaty of alliance between the courts of Vienna and Madrid.* XXV. *Treaty of Hanover.* XXVI. *Approved in parliament.*
 XXVII. *Riots in Scotland on account of the malt-tax.* XXVIII. *A small squadron sent to the Baltic.* XXIX. *Admiral Hosier's expedition to the West-*

West-Indies. XXX. Disgrace of the Duke de Ripperda. XXXI. Substance of the King's speech to parliament. XXXII. Debate in the House of Lords upon the approaching rupture with the Emperor and Spain. XXXIII. Memorial of Mr. Palms, the Imperial resident at London. XXXIV. Conventions with Sweden and Hesse-Cassel. XXXV. Vote of credit. XXXVI. Siege of Gibraltar by the Spaniards. XXXVII. Preliminaries of peace. XXXVIII. Death and character of George I. King of Great-Britain.

§ I. **D**URING the infatuation produced by this infamous scheme, luxury, vice, and profligacy, increased to a shocking degree of extravagance. The adventurers, intoxicated by their imaginary wealth, pampered themselves with the rarest dainties, and the most expensive wines that could be imported: they purchased the most sumptuous furniture, equipage, and apparel, though without taste or discernment: they indulged their criminal passions to the most scandalous excess; their discourse was the language of pride, insolence, and the most ridiculous ostentation: they affected to scoff at religion and morality; and even to set heaven at defiance. The Earl of Nottingham complained in the House of Lords of the growth of atheism, profaneness, and immorality; and a bill was brought in for suppressing blasphemy and profaneness. It contained several articles seemingly calculated to restrain the liberty granted to nonconformists by

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the laws of the last session : for that reason it met with violent opposition. It was supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Nottingham, Lords Bathurst and Trevor, the Bishops of London, Winchester, and Lichfield and Coventry. One of these said, he verily believed the present calamity occasioned by the South-Sea-project was a judgment of God on the blasphemy and profaneness of the nation. Lord Onslow replied, "That noble peer must then be a great sinner, for he has lost considerably by the South-Sea-scheme." The Duke of Whar-ton, who had rendered himself famous by his wit and profligacy, said he was not insensible of the common opinion of the town concerning himself, and gladly seized this opportunity of vindicating his character, by declaring he was far from being a patron of blasphemy, or an enemy to religion. On the other hand, he could not but oppose the bill, because he conceived it to be repugnant to the holy scripture. Then pulling an old family-bible from his pocket, he quoted several passages from the epistles of St. Peter and St. Paul; concluding with a desire that the bill might be thrown out. The Earl of Peterborough declared, that though he was for a parliamentary king, yet he did not desire to have a parliamentary god, or a parliamentary religion; and, should the House declare for one of this kind, he would go to Rome, and endeavour to be chosen a cardinal; for he had rather sit in the conclave than with their lordships upon those terms. After a vehement debate, the bill was postponed to a long day, by a considerable majority.

§ II. The season was far advanced before the supplies were granted; and at length they were not voted with that chearfulness and good humor which the majority had hitherto manifested on such occasions. On the sixteenth day of June, the King sent a message to the House of Commons, importing, that he had agreed to pay a subsidy to the crown of Sweden, and he hoped they would enable him to make good his engagements. The leaders of the opposition took fire at this intimation. They desired to know whether this subsidy, amounting to seventy-two thousand pounds, was to be paid to Sweden over and above the expence of maintaining a strong squadron in the Baltic? Lord Moleworth observed, that, by our late conduct, we were become the allies of the whole world, and the bubbles of all our allies; for we were obliged to pay them well for their assistance. He affirmed that the treaties which had been made with Sweden, at different times, were inconsistent and contradictory; that our late engagements with that crown were contrary to the treaties subsisting with Denmark, and directly opposite to the measures formerly concerted with the Czar of Muscovy. He said, that, in order to engage the Czar to yield what he had gained in the course of the war, the King of Prussia ought to give up Stetin, and the Elector of Hanover restore Bremen and Verden: that, after all, England had no business to intermeddle with the affairs of the empire: that we reaped little or no advantage by our trade to the Baltic, but that of procuring naval stores: he owned that hemp was a very necessary commodity,

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particularly at this juncture; but he insisted, that if due encouragement were given to some of our plantations in America, we might be supplied from thence at a much cheaper rate than from Sweden and Norway. Notwithstanding these arguments, the Swedish supply was granted; and, in about three weeks, their complaisance was put to another proof. They were given to understand, by a second message, that the debts of the civil-list amounted to five hundred and fifty thousand pounds; and his Majesty hoped they would empower him to raise that sum upon the revenue, as he proposed it should be replaced to the civil-list, and re-imburfed by a deduction from the salaries and wages of all officers, as well as from the pensions and other payments from the crown. A bill was prepared for this purpose, though not without warm opposition; and, at the same time, an act passed for a general pardon. On the tenth day of August, the King closed the session with a speech, in which he expressed his concern for the sufferings of the innocent, and a just indignation against the guilty, with respect to the South-Sea scheme. These professions were judged necessary to clear his own character, which had incurred the suspicion of some people, who whispered that he was not altogether free from connections with the projectors of that design: that the Emperor had, at his desire, refused to deliver up Knight; and that he favored the directors and their accomplices.

§ III. Lords Townshend and Carteret were now appointed secretaries of state: and the Earl of Ilay

was vested with the office of lord privy-seal of Scotland. In June the treaty of peace between Great-Britain and Spain was signed at Madrid. The contracting parties engaged to restore mutually all the effects seized and confiscated on both sides. In particular, the King of England promised to restore all the ships of the Spanish fleet which had been taken in the Mediterranean, or the value of them, if they were sold. He likewise promised, in a secret article, that he would no longer interfere in the affairs of Italy; and the King of Spain made an absolute cession of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon. At the same time, a defensive alliance was concluded between Great-Britain, France, and Spain. All remaining difficulties were referred to a congress at Cambray, where they hoped to consolidate a general peace, by determining all differences between the Emperor and his Catholic Majesty. In the mean time, the powers of Great-Britain, France, and Spain, engaged, by virtue of the present treaty, to grant to the Duke of Parma a particular protection for the preservation of his territories and rights, and for the support of his dignity. It was also stipulated, that the States-General should be invited to accede to this alliance. The congress at Cambray was opened: but the demands on both sides were so high, that it proved ineffectual. In the mean time, the peace between Russia and Sweden was concluded, on condition that the Czar should retain Livonia, Ingria, Estonia, part of Carelia, and of the territory of Wyburgh, Riga, Revel, and Narva, in consideration of his restoring

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part of Finland, and paying two millions of rix-dollars to the King of Sweden. The personal animosity subsisting between King George and the Czar seemed to increase. Bastagif, the Russian resident at London, having presented a memorial that contained some unguarded expressions, was ordered to quit the kingdom in a fortnight. The Czar published a declaration at Petersburgh, complaining of this outrage, which, he said, ought naturally to have engaged him to use reprisals; but, as he perceived it was done without any regard to the concerns of England, and only in favor of the Hanoverian interest, he was unwilling that the English nation should suffer for a piece of injustice in which they had no share. He, therefore, granted to them all manner of security, and free liberty to trade in all his dominions. To finish this strange tiffue of negociations, King George concluded a treaty with the Moors in Africa, against which the Spaniards loudly exclaimed.

§ IV. In the course of this year, Pope Clement XI. died; and the Princess of Wales was delivered of a prince, baptized by the name of William-Augustus, the late Duke of Cumberland. A dreadful plague raging at Marseilles, a proclamation was published, forbidding any person to come into England, from any part of France between the bay of Biscay and Dunkirk, without certificates of health. Other precautions were taken to guard against contagion. An act of parliament had passed in the preceding session, for the prevention of infection, by building pest-houses, to which all infected persons,

and all persons of an infected family, should be conveyed; and, by drawing trenches and lines round any city, town, or place infected. The King, in his speech at opening the session of parliament, on the nineteenth day of October, intimated the pacification of the North, by the conclusion of the treaty between Muscovy and Sweden. He desired the House of Commons to consider of means for easing the duties upon the imported commodities used in the manufactures of the kingdom. He observed, that the nation might be supplied with naval stores from our own colonies in North-America; and that their being employed in this useful and advantageous branch of commerce would divert them from setting up manufactures which directly interfered with those of Great-Britain. He expressed a desire that, with respect to the supplies, his people might reap some immediate benefit from the present circumstances of affairs abroad; and he earnestly recommended to their consideration, means for preventing the plague, particularly by providing against the practice of smuggling.

§ V. One of the first objects that attracted the attention of the Upper-House was the case of John Law, the famous projector. The resentment of the people on account of his Mississippi-scheme had obliged him to leave France. He retired to Italy; and was said to have visited the Pretender at Rome. From thence he repaired to Hanover; and returned to England from the Baltic, in the fleet commanded by Sir John Norris. The King favored him with a private audience: he kept open house, and was

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visited by great numbers of persons of the first quality. Earl Coningsby represented, in the House of Lords, that he could not but entertain some jealousy of a person who had done so much mischief in a neighbouring kingdom; who, being immensely rich, might do a great deal more hurt here, by tampering with those who were grown desperate, in consequence of being involved in the calamity occasioned by the fatal imitation of his pernicious projects. He observed, that this person was the more dangerous, as he had renounced his natural affection to his country, his allegiance to his lawful sovereign, and his religion, by turning Roman Catholic. Lord Carteret replied, that Mr. Law had, many years ago, the misfortune to kill a gentleman in a duel; but having at last received the benefit of the King's clemency, and the appeal lodged by the relations of the deceased being taken off, he was come over to plead his Majesty's pardon. He said there was no law to keep any Englishman out of his country; and, as Mr. Law was a subject of Great-Britain, it was not even in the King's power to hinder him from coming over. After some dispute, the subject was dropped, and this great projector pleaded his pardon in the King's-Bench, according to the usual form.

§ VI. The ministry had by this time secured such a majority in both houses, as enabled them to carry any point without the least difficulty. Some chiefs of the opposition they had brought over to their measures, and among the rest Lord Harcourt, who was created a viscount, and gratified with

a pension of four thousand pounds. Nevertheless, they could not shut the mouths of the minority, who still preserved the privilege of complaining. Great debates were occasioned by the navy-debt, which was increased to one million seven hundred thousand pounds. Some members in both Houses affirmed that such extraordinary expense could not be for the immediate service of Great-Britain; but, in all probability, for the preservation of foreign acquisitions. The ministers answered, that near two-thirds of the navy-debts were contracted in the late reign; and the parliament acquiesced in this declaration: but, in reality, the navy-debt had been unnecessarily increased, by keeping seamen in pay during the winter, and sending fleets to the Mediterranean and Baltic, in order to support the interests of Germany. The Duke of Wharton moved that the treaty with Spain might be laid before the House. The Earl of Sunderland said it contained a secret article, which the King of Spain desired might not be made public, until after the treaty of Cambray should be discussed. The question was put, and the Duke's motion rejected. The Earl of Strafford asserted, that as the war with Spain had been undertaken without necessity or just provocation, so the peace was concluded without any benefit or advantage: that, contrary to the law of nations, the Spanish fleet had been attacked without any declaration of war; even while a British minister and a secretary of state were treating amicably at Madrid: that the war was neither just nor politic, since it interrupted one of the most valuable

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branches of the English commerce, at a time when the nation groaned under the pressure of heavy debts, incurred by the former long, expensive war. He, therefore, moved for an address to his Majesty, desiring that the instructions given to Sir George Byng, now Lord Torrington, should be laid before the House. This motion being likewise, upon the question, rejected, a protest was entered. They voted an address, however, to know in what manner the King had disposed of the ships taken from the Spaniards. Disputes arose also from the bill to prevent infection. Earl Cowper represented, that the removal of persons to a Lazaret, or pest-house, by order of the government, and the drawing lines and trenches round places infected, were powers unknown to the British constitution; inconsistent with the lenity of a free government; such as could never be wisely or usefully put in practice; the more odious, because copied from the arbitrary government of France; and impracticable, except by military compulsion. These obnoxious clauses were accordingly repealed, though not without great opposition. Indeed, nothing can be more absurd than a constitution that will not admit of just and necessary laws and regulations to prevent the dire consequences of the worst of all calamities. Such restrictions, instead of favouring the lenity of a free government, would be the most cruel imposition that could be laid on a free people, as it would act in diametrical opposition to the great principle of society, which is the preservation of the individual.

§ VII. The Quakers having presented a petition to the House of Commons, praying that a bill might be brought in for omitting in their solemn affirmation the words "In the presence of Almighty God," the House complied with their request: but the bill gave rise to a warm debate among the peers. Dr. Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, said he did not know why such a distinguishing mark of indulgence should be allowed to a set of people who were hardly Christians. He was supported by the Archbishop of York, the Earl of Strafford, and Lord North and Grey. A petition was presented against the bill by the London clergy, who expressed a serious concern lest the minds of good men should be grieved and wounded, and the enemies of Christianity triumph, when they should see such condescension made by a Christian legislature to a set of men who renounce the divine institutions of Christ; particularly that by which the faithful are initiated into his religion, and denominated Christians. The petition, though presented by the Archbishop of York, was branded by the ministry as a seditious libel, and rejected by the majority. Then, upon a motion by the Earl of Sunderland, the House resolved, that such lords as might enter protestations with reasons should do it before two o'clock on the next sitting day, and sign them before the House rises. The supplies being granted, and the business of the session dispatched as the court was pleased to dictate, on the seventh day of March the parliament was prorogued. In a few days it was dissolved, and another convoked by proclamation^r. In the election of members for the new

^r Annals. Hist. Reg. Deb. in Par. Polit. State. Tindal.

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parliament the ministry exerted itself with such success, as returned a great majority in the House of Commons, extremely well adapted for all the purposes of an administration².

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§ VIII. In the beginning of May, the King is said to have received of the Duke of Orleans full and certain information of a fresh conspiracy formed against his person and government. A camp was immediately formed in Hyde-park. All military officers were ordered to repair to their respective commands. Lieutenant - General Maccartney was dispatched to Ireland, to bring over some troops from that kingdom. Some suspected persons were apprehended in Scotland: the states of Holland were desired to have their auxiliary or guarantee-troops in readiness to be embarked; and Colonel Churchill was sent to the court of France with a private commission. The apprehension raised by this supposed plot affected the public credit. South - Sea stock began to fall; and crowds of people called in their money from the Bank. Lord Townshend wrote a

² The Earl of Sunderland died in April, after having incurred a great load of popular odium, from his supposed connections with the directors of the South - Sea company. He was a minister of abilities, but violent, impetuous, and head-strong. His death was soon followed by that of his father-in-law, the great Duke of Marlborough, whose faculties had been for some time greatly impaired. He was interred in Westminster-abbey, with such profusion of funeral pomp, as evinced the pride and ostentation, much more than the taste and concern of those who directed his obsequies. He was succeeded as master of the Ordnance, and colonel of the first regiment of foot - guards, by Earl Cadogan.

letter to the Mayor of London, by the King's command, signifying his Majesty's having received unquestionable advices, that several of his subjects had entered into a wicked conspiracy, in concert with traitors abroad, for raising a rebellion in favor of a popish pretender; but that he was firmly assured the authors of it neither were nor would be supported by any foreign power. This letter was immediately answered by an affectionate address from the court of aldermen; and the example of London was followed by many other cities and boroughs. The King had determined to visit Hanover, and actually settled a regency, in which the Prince of Wales was not included: but now this intended journey was laid aside: the court was removed to Kensington, and the Prince retired to Richmond. The Bishop of Rochester having been seized, with his papers, was examined before a committee of the council, who committed him to the Tower for high-treason. The Earl of Orrery, Lord North and Grey, Mr. Cochran, and Mr. Smith, from Scotland, and Mr. Christopher Layer, a young gentleman of the Temple, were confined in the same place. Mr. George Kelly, an Irish clergyman, Mr. Robert Cotton of Huntingdonshire, Mr. Bingley, Mr. Fleetwood, Neynoe, an Irish Priest, and several persons, were taken into custody; and Mr. Shippen's house was searched. After Bishop Atterbury had remained a fortnight in the Tower, Sir Constantine Phipps presented a petition to the court at the Old-Bailey, in the name of Mrs. Morris, that prelate's daughter, praying, that in consideration of the Bishop's ill state of health,

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he might be either brought to a speedy trial, bailed, or discharged: but this was over-ruled. The churchmen through the whole kingdom were filled with indignation at the confinement of a bishop, which they said was an outrage upon the church of England, and the episcopal order. Far from concealing their sentiments on this subject, the clergy ventured to offer up public prayers for his health, in almost all the churches and chapels of London and Westminster. In the mean time, the King, attended by the Prince of Wales, made a summer-progress through the western counties.

§ IX. The new parliament being assembled on the ninth day of October, his Majesty made them acquainted with the nature of the conspiracy. He said the conspirators had, by their emissaries, made the strongest instances for succours from foreign powers; but were disappointed in their expectation. That, nevertheless, confiding in their numbers, they had resolved once more, upon their own strength, to attempt the subversion of his government. He said they had provided considerable sums of money, engaged great numbers of officers from abroad, secured large quantities of arms and ammunition; and, had not the plot been timely discovered, the whole nation, and particularly the city of London, would have been involved in blood and confusion. He expatiated upon the mildness and integrity of his own government; and inveighed against the ingratitude, the implacability, and madness of the disaffected, concluding with an assurance, that he would steadily adhere to the

constitution in church and state, and continue to make the laws of the realm the rule and measure of all his actions. Such addresses were presented by both Houses as the fears and attachment of the majority may be supposed to have dictated on such an occasion. A bill was brought into the House of Lords, for suspending the Habeas - Corpus - act for a whole year: but they were far from being unanimous in agreeing to such an unusual length of time. By this suspension, they in effect vested the ministry with a dictatorial power over the liberties of the people.

§ X. The opposition in the House of Commons was so violent, that Mr. Robert Walpole found it necessary to alarm their apprehensions by a dreadful story of a design to seize the Bank and Exchequer, and to proclaim the Pretender on the Royal Exchange. Their passions being inflamed by this ridiculous artifice, they passed the bill, which immediately received the royal assent. The Duke of Norfolk being brought from Bath, was examined before the council, and committed to the Tower, on suspicion of high - treason. On the sixteenth day of November, the King sent to the House of Peers the original and printed copy of a declaration signed by the Pretender. It was dated at Lucca, on the twentieth day of September, in the present year, and appeared to be a proposal addressed to the subjects of Great - Britain and Ireland, as well as to all foreign princes and states. In this paper, the Chevalier de St. George, having mentioned the late violations of the freedom of elections; conspiracies invented to give a color to new oppressions;

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infamous informers ; and the state of proscription in which he supposed every honest man to be , very gravely proposed , that if King George would relinquish to him the throne of Great-Britain, he would, in return , bestow upon him the title of king in his native dominions , and invite all other states to confirm it : he likewise promised to leave to King George his succession to the British dominions secure , whenever , in due course , his natural right should take place. The Lords unanimously resolved, that this declaration was a false , insolent , and traitorous libel ; and ordered it to be burned at the Royal-Exchange. The Commons concurred in these resolutions. Both Houses joined in an address, expressing their utmost astonishment and indignation at the surprising insolence of the Pretender , and assuring his Majesty , they were determined to support his title to the crown with their lives and fortunes. The Commons prepared a bill for raising one hundred thousand pounds upon the real and personal estates of all papists , or persons educated in the popish religion , towards defraying the expenses occasioned by the late rebellion and disorders. This bill , though strenuously opposed by some moderate members , as a species of persecution , was sent up to the House of Lords, together with another, obliging all persons, being papists, in Scotland, and all persons in Great-Britain refusing and neglecting to take the oaths appointed for the security of the King's person and government , to register their names and real estates. Both these bills passed through the Upper House without amendments , and received the royal sanction.

§ XI. Mr. Laver being brought to his trial at the King's-Bench, on the twenty-first day of November, was convicted of having enlisted men for the Pretender's service, in order to stir up a rebellion, and received sentence of death. He was reprieved for some time, and examined by a committee of the House of Commons: but he either could not, or would not, discover the particulars of the conspiracy, so that he suffered death at Tyburn, and his head was fixed up at Temple-Bar. Mr. Pulteney, chairman of the committee, reported to the House, that, from the examination of Laver and others, a design had been formed by persons of figure and distinction at home, in conjunction with traitors abroad, for placing the Pretender on the throne of these realms: that their first intention was to procure a body of foreign troops to invade the kingdom at the time of the late elections; but that the conspirators being disappointed in this expectation, resolved to make an attempt at the time that it was generally believed the King intended to go to Hanover, by the help of such officers and soldiers as could pass into England unobserved, from abroad, under the command of the late Duke of Ormond, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms, provided in Spain for that purpose; at which time the Tower was to have been seized. That this scheme being also defeated by the vigilance of the government, they deferred their enterprise till the breaking up of the camp; and, in the mean time, employed their agents to corrupt and seduce the officers and soldiers of the army: that it appeared

B O O K from several letters and circumstances, that the late
II. Duke of Ormond, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of
1722. Orrery, Lord North and Grey, and the Bishop of
 Rochester, were concerned in this conspiracy, that
 their acting agents were Christopher Layer and
 John Plunket, who travelled together to Rome;
 Dennis Kelly, George Kelly, and Thomas Carte,
 nonjuring clergymen, Neynoe, the Irish priest, who
 by this time was drowned in the river Thames, in
 attempting to make his escape from the messenger's
 house, Mrs. Spilman, alias Yallop, and John Sample.

§ XII. This pretended conspiracy, in all likelihood,
 extended no farther than the first rudiments of a
 design that was never digested into any regular form;
 otherwise the persons said to be concerned in it must
 have been infatuated to a degree of frenzy: for they
 were charged with having made application to the
 Regent of France, who was well known to be inti-
 mately connected with the King of Great-Britain. The
 House of Commons, however, resolved, that it was a
 detestable and horrid conspiracy for raising a rebellion,
 seizing the Tower and the city of London, laying vio-
 lent hands upon the persons of his most sacred Majesty
 and the Prince of Wales, in order to subvert our
 present happy establishment in church and state, by
 placing a popish Pretender upon the throne: that it
 was formed and carried on by persons of figure and
 distinction, and their agents and instruments, in
 conjunction with traitors abroad. Bills were brought
 in, and passed, for inflicting pains and penalties
 against John Plunket and George Kelly, who were
 by these acts to be kept in close custody, during

his Majesty's pleasure, in any prison in Great-Britain; and that they should not attempt to escape on pain of death, to be inflicted upon them and their assistants. Mr. Yonge made a motion for a bill of the same nature against the Bishop of Rochester. This was immediately brought into the House, though Sir William Wyndham affirmed there was no evidence against him but conjectures and hearsays. The Bishop wrote a letter to the Speaker, importing, that though conscious of his own innocence, he should decline giving the House any trouble that day, contenting himself with the opportunity of making his defence before another, of which he had the honor to be a member'. Counsel being heard for the bill, it was committed to a grand committee on the sixth day of April, when the majority of the Tory-members quitted the House. It was then moved, that the Bishop should be deprived of his office and benefice, and banished the kingdom for ever: Mr. Lawson and Mr. Oglethorpe spoke in his favor.

§ XIII. The bill being passed and sent up to the Lords, the Bishop was brought to his trial before them on the ninth of May. Himself and his counsel having been heard, the Lords proceeded to consider the articles of the bill; when they read it a third time, a motion was made to pass it, and then a long and warm debate ensued. Earl Paulet demonstrated the danger and injustice of swerving in such an extraordinary manner from the fixed rules of evidence. The Duke of Wharton, having summed

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³ Annals. Tindal. Deb. in Par. Polit. State.

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up the depositions, and proved the insufficiency of them, concluded with saying, that let the consequences be what they would, he hoped such a hellish stain would never fully the lustre and glory of that illustrious House, as to condemn a man without the least evidence. Lord Bathurst spoke against the bill with equal strength and eloquence. He said, if such extraordinary proceedings were countenanced, he saw nothing remaining for him and others to do, but to retire to their country-houses, and there, if possible, quietly enjoy their estates within their own families, since the least correspondence, the least intercepted letter, might be made criminal. He observed, that Cardinal Mazarin boasted, that if he had but two lines of any man's writing, he could, by means of a few circumstances, attested by witnesses, deprive him of his life at his pleasure. Turning to the bench of bishops, who had been generally unfavorable to Dr. Atterbury, he said he could hardly account for the inveterate hatred and malice some persons bore the learned and ingenious Bishop of Rochester, unless they were intoxicated with the infatuation of some savage Indians, who believed they inherited not only the spoils, but even the abilities of any great enemy whom they had killed in battle. The bill was supported by the Duke of Argyle, the Earl of Seafield, and Lord Lechmere, which last was answered by Earl Cowper. This nobleman observed that the strongest argument urged in behalf of the bill was necessity: but that, for his part, he saw no necessity that could justify such unprecedented and such dangerous proceedings,

as the conspiracy had above twelve months before been happily discovered, and the effects of it prevented: that besides the intrinsic weight and strength of the government, the hands of those at the helm had been still further fortified by the suspension of the Habeas - Corpus - act, and the additional troops which had been raised. He said the known rules of evidence, as laid down at first, and established by the law of the land, were the birth-right of every subject in the nation, and ought to be constantly observed, not only in the inferior courts of judicature, but also in both Houses of parliament, till altered by the legislature: that the admitting of the precarious and uncertain evidence of the clerks of the post-office was a very dangerous precedent. In former times (said he) it was thought very grievous that in capital cases a man should be affected by similitude of hands; but here the case is much worse, since it is allowed that the clerks of the post-office should carry the similitude of hands four months in their minds. He applauded the Bishop's noble deportment, in declining to answer before the House of Commons, whose proceedings in this unprecedented manner, against a lord of parliament was such an encroachment on the prerogative of the peerage, that if they submitted to it, by passing the bill, they might be termed the last of British peers, for giving up their ancient privileges. The other party were not so solicitous about answering reasons, as eager to put the question, when the bill passed, and a protest was entered. By this act the Bishop was deprived of all offices, benefices, and dignities, and

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rendered incapable of enjoying any for the future: he was banished the realm, and subjected to the pains of death in case he should return, as were all persons who should correspond with him during his exile. Dr. Friend, the celebrated physician, who was a member of the House, and had exerted himself strenuously in behalf of the Bishop, was now taken into custody, on suspicion of treasonable practices.

§ XIV. The next object that excited the resentment of the Commons was the scheme of a lottery, to be drawn at Harburgh, in the King's German dominions. The House appointed a committee to inquire into this and other lotteries at that time on foot in London. The scheme was published, on pretence of raising a subscription for maintaining a trade between Great-Britain and the King's territories on the Elbe: but it was a mysterious scene of iniquity, which the committee, with all their penetration, could not fully discover. They reported, however, that it was an infamous, fraudulent undertaking, whereby many unwary persons had been drawn in, to their great loss: that the manner of carrying it on had been a manifest violation of the laws of the kingdom: that the managers and agents of this lottery had, without any authority for so doing, made use of his Majesty's royal name, thereby to give countenance to the infamous project, and induce his Majesty's subjects to engage or be concerned therein. A bill was brought in to suppress this lottery; and to oblige the managers of it to make restitution of the money they had

received from the contributors. At the same time the House resolved. That John Lord Viscount Barrington had been notoriously guilty of promoting, abetting, and carrying on that fraudulent undertaking ; for which offence he should be expelled the House. The court of Vienna having erected an East-India company at Ostend , upon a scheme formed by one Colebrook , an English merchant , Sir Nathaniel Gould represented to the House of Commons the great detriment which the English East-India company had already received, and were likely further to sustain, by this Ostend company. The House immediately resolved, That for the subjects of this kingdom to subscribe, or be concerned in encouraging any subscription, to promote an East-India company now erecting in the Austrian Netherlands, was a high crime and misdemeanour ; and a law was enacted for preventing British subjects from engaging in that enterprise. By another act relating to the South-Sea company, the two millions of stock which had been annihilated were revived, added to the capital, and divided among the proprietors. A third law passed, for the more effectual execution of justice in a part of Southwark, called the Mint, where a great number of debtors had taken sanctuary, on the supposition that it was a privileged place. On the twenty-seventh day of May the session was closed, with a speech that breathed nothing but panegyric, acknowledgment , and affection to a parliament which had complied with all his Majesty's wishes.

§ XV. His Majesty, having ennobled the son of

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Mr. Robert Walpole, in consideration of the father's services, made a good number of church-promotions. He admitted the imprisoned lords and gentlemen to bail; granted a pardon to Lord Bolingbroke; and ordered the Bishop of Rochester to be conveyed to the continent. Then he himself set out for Hanover, leaving the administration of his kingdoms in the hands of a regency, Lord Harcourt being one of the justices. The King was attended by the two secretaries, Lords Townshend and Carteret, who were counted able negociators. The affairs of the continent had begun to take a new turn. The interests and connexions of the different princes were become perplexed and embarrassed; and King George resolved to unravel them by dint of negociation. Understanding that a treaty was on the carpet between the Czar and the King of Sweden, favorable to the Duke of Holstein's pretensions to Sleswick, the possession of which the Elector of Hanover had guaranteed to Denmark, his Majesty began to be in pain for Bremen and Verden. The Regent of France and the King of Spain had now compromised all differences; and their reconciliation was cemented by a double marriage between Philip's sons and the Regent's daughters. The former proposed new treaties to England; but insisted upon the restitution of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, as well as upon the King's openly declaring against the Ostend company. His Britannic Majesty was apprehensive, that should the Emperor be hard pressed on that subject, he might join the Czar and the King of Sweden, and promote their designs in favor

of the Duke of Holstein. On the other hand, all the Italian powers exclaimed against the treaty of London. The Pope had protested against any thing that might have been decided at Cambray to the prejudice of his right. Memorials to the same effect had been presented by the King of Sardinia, the Dukes of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena. France and Spain were inclined to support these potentates against the House of Austria. Europe seemed to be on the eve of a new war. King George was entangled in such a variety of treaties and interests, that he knew not well how to extricate himself from the troublesome engagements he had contracted. By declaring for the Emperor, he must have countenanced the new establishment at Ostend, which was so prejudicial to his British subjects, and incurred the resentment of France, Spain, and their allies of Italy. In renouncing the interest of the Emperor, he would have exposed his German dominions. In vain he exhorted the Emperor to relax in his disputes with Spain, and give up the Ostend company, which was so detrimental and disagreeable to his faithful allies: the court of Vienna promised in general to observe the treaties which it had concluded; but declined entering into any particular discussion; so that all his Majesty's endeavours issued in contracting closer connexions with Prussia and Denmark. All those negotiations carried on, all those treaties concluded by King George, with almost every prince and state in Christendom, which succeeded one another so fast, and appear, at first view, so intricate and unaccountable, were founded upon two simple and na-

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tural principles, namely, the desire of ascertaining his acquisitions as Elector of Hanover: and his resolution to secure himself against the disaffection of his British subjects, as well as the efforts of the Pretender.

§ XVI. Great-Britain at this period enjoyed profound tranquillity. Ireland was a little ruffled by an incident which seemed to have been misrepresented to the people of that kingdom. William Wood had obtained a patent for furnishing Ireland with copper currency, in which it was deficient. A great clamor was raised against this coin. The parliament of that kingdom, which met in September, resolved, That it would be prejudicial to the revenue, destructive of trade, and of dangerous consequence to the rights of the subject: that the patent had been obtained by misrepresentation: that the half-pence wanted weight: that, even if the terms of the patent had been complied with, there would have been a great loss to the nation: that granting the power of coinage to a private person had ever been highly prejudicial to the kingdom, and would at all times be of dangerous consequence. Addresses from both Houses were presented to the King on this subject. The affair was referred to the lords of the privy-council of England. They justified the conduct of the patentee, upon the report of Sir Isaac Newton and other officers of the Mint, who had made the assay and trial of Wood's half-pence, and found he had complied with the terms of the patent. They declared that this currency exceeded in goodness, fineness, and value of metal, all the copper money which

had been coined for Ireland, in the reigns of King Charles II. King James II. King William and Queen Mary. The privy-council likewise demonstrated, that his Majesty's predecessors had always exercised the undoubted prerogative of granting patents for copper coinage in Ireland to private persons: that none of these patents had been so beneficial to the kingdom as this granted to William Wood, who had not obtained it in an unprecedented manner, but after a reference to the Attorney and Solicitor-General, and after Sir Isaac Newton had been consulted in every particular: finally, they proved, by a great number of witnesses, that there was a real want of such money in Ireland. Notwithstanding his decision, the ferment of the Irish nation was industriously kept up by clamor, pamphlets, papers, and lampoons, written by Dean Swift, and other authors; so that Wood voluntarily reduced his coinage from the value of one hundred thousand to that of forty thousand pounds. Thus the noise was silenced. The Commons of Ireland passed an act for accepting the affirmation of the Quakers instead of an oath; and voted three hundred and forty thousand pounds towards discharging the debt of the nation, which amounted to about double that sum.

§ XVII. In the month of October, England lost a worthy nobleman in the death of Earl Cowper, who had twice discharged the office of lord-chancellor, with equal discernment and integrity. He was profoundly skilled in the laws of his country; in his apprehension quick and penetrating; in his judgment clear and determinate. He possessed a

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manly eloquence: his manner was agreeable, and his deportment graceful. This year was likewise remarkable for the death of the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, who, since the decease of Lewis XIV. had ruled the nation with the most absolute authority. He was a prince of taste and spirit, endowed with shining talents for empire, which he did not fail to display, even in the midst of effeminate pursuits and idle debauchery. From the infirm constitution of the infant king, he had conceived hopes of ascending the throne, and taken his measures accordingly: but the young monarch's health began to be established, and all the Duke's schemes were defeated by an apoplexy, of which he died, in the fiftieth year of his age, after having nominated the Duke of Bourbon as prime-minister. King George immediately received assurances of the good disposition of the French court, to cultivate and even improve the good understanding so happily established between France and Great-Britain. The King arrived in England on the eighteenth day of December; and on the ninth day of January the parliament was assembled. His Majesty, in his speech, recommended to the Commons the care of the public debts; and he expressed his satisfaction at seeing the sinking fund improved and augmented, so as to put the debt of the nation into a method of being speedily and gradually discharged.

§ XVIII. This was the repeated theory of patriotism, which unhappily for the subjects was never reduced to practice: not but that a beginning of such a laudable work was made in this very session:

by an act for lessening the public debts. This law provided, that the annuities at five per cent. charged on the general fund by a former act, except such as had been subscribed into the South-Sea, together with the unsubscribed blanks of the lottery in the year one thousand seven hundred and fourteen, should be paid off at Lady-Day of the year next ensuing, with the money arising from the sinking fund. The ministry, however, did not persevere in this path of prudent economy. The Commons granted all the supplies that were demanded. They voted ten thousand seamen; and the majority, though not without violent opposition, agreed to maintain four thousand additional troops, which had been raised in the preceding year; so that the establishment of the land-forces amounted to eighteen thousand two hundred and sixty-four. The expense of the year was defrayed by a land-tax and malt-tax⁴. The Commons, having dispatched the supply, took into consideration a grievance arising from protections granted by foreign ministers, peers, and members of parliament, under which profligate persons used to screen themselves from the prosecution of their just creditors. The Commons resolved, That all protections granted by members of that House should be declared void, and immediately withdrawn. The Lords made a declaration to the same purpose, with an exception of menial servants, and those necessarily employed about the estates of peers⁵. On the twenty-

⁴ Oldmixon. Polit. Stat. Hist. Reg. Annals of K. George. Mém. Hist. Tindal.

⁵ The Duke of Newcastle was now appointed secretary of

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fourth day of April, his Majesty closed the session in the usual manner; made some alterations in the disposition of the great offices of state, and sent Mr. Horatio Walpole as ambassador extraordinary to the court of France.

§ XIX. In the beginning of this year, Philip King of Spain, retiring with his Queen to the monastery of St. Ildefonso, sent the Marquis of Grimaldi, his principal secretary of state, to his son, Louis Prince of Asturias, with a solemn renunciation of the crown, and a letter of advice, in which he exhorted him to cultivate the Blessed Virgin with the warmest devotion; and put himself and his kingdom under her protection. The renunciation was published through the whole monarchy of Spain; and the council of Castile resolved, That Louis might assume the reins of government without assembling the cortez. The English minister at Paris was instructed to interpose

state; the Duke of Grafton, lord-chamberlain; and Lord Carteret, lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

The King instituted a professorship of the modern languages in each university.

In the month of May died Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, who had been a munificent patron of genius and literature; and completed a very valuable collection of manuscripts.

The practice of inoculation for the small-pox was by this time introduced into England from Turkey. Prince Frederic, the two Princesses Amelia and Carolina, the Duke of Bedford and his sister, with many other persons of distinction, underwent this operation with success.

Dr. Henry Sacheverel died in June, after having bequeathed five hundred pounds to the late Bishop of Rochester.

in behalf of the French Protestants, against whom a severe edict had been lately published; but his remonstrances produced no effect. England, in the mean time, was quite barren of such events as deserve a place in history. The government was now firmly established on the neck of opposition; and commerce flourished even under the load of grievous imposition.

§ XX. The next parliament, which met on the twelfth day of November, seemed to be assembled for no other purpose than that of establishing funds for the expense of the ensuing year: yet the session was distinguished by a remarkable incident: namely, the trial of the Earl of Macclesfield, lord-chancellor of England. This nobleman had connived at certain venal practices touching the sale of places, and the money of suitors deposited with the masters of Chancery, so as to incur the general reproach of the nation. He found it necessary to resign the great-seal in the beginning of January. On the ninth day of the ensuing month, the King sent a message to the Commons, importing that his Majesty, having reason to apprehend that the suitors in the court of Chancery were in danger of losing a considerable sum of money, from the insufficiency of some of the masters, thought himself obliged in justice and compassion to the said sufferers to take the most speedy and proper method the law would allow, for inquiring into the state of the masters' accounts, and securing their effects for the benefit of the suitors; and his Majesty having had several reports laid before him, in pursuance of the directions he had given, had ordered the reports to be

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communicated to the House, that they might have as full and as perfect a view of this important affair as the shortness of the time, and the circumstances and nature of the proceedings, would admit.

§ XXI. These papers being taken into consideration, Sir George Oxenden observed, that enormous abuses had crept into the high court of Chancery: that the crimes and misdemeanours of the late Lord-Chancellor were many and various, but might be reduced to the following heads: that he had embezzled the estates and effects of many widows, orphans, and lunatics: that he had raised the offices of masters in Chancery to an exorbitant price: trusting in their hands large sums of money belonging to suitors, that they might be enabled to comply with his exorbitant demands; and that in several cases he had made divers irregular orders. He, therefore, moved, That Thomas Earl of Macclesfield should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours. Mr. Pulteney moved, That this affair might be left to the consideration of a select committee. Sir William Wyndham asserted, that in proceeding by way of impeachment upon reports from above, they would make a dangerous precedent; and seem to give up the most valuable of their privileges, the inquest after state-criminals*. The question being put, it was carried for the impeachment. The Earl was accordingly impeached at the bar of the Upper-House: a committee was appointed to prepare articles; and a bill was brought in, to indemnify the

* Annals. Mém. Hist. Deb. in Par. Tindal.

masters in Chancery from the penalties of the law, upon discovering what considerations they had paid for their admission to their respective offices. The trial lasted twenty days: the Earl was convicted of fraudulent practices; and condemned in a fine of thirty thousand pounds, with imprisonment until that sum should be paid. He was immediately committed to the Tower, where he continued about six weeks; but upon producing the money he was discharged; and Sir Peter King, now created Baron of Oakham, succeeded him in the office of chancellor.

§ XXII. His Majesty, on the eighth day of April, gave the House of Commons to understand, that having been engaged in some extraordinary expenses, he hoped he should be enabled to raise a sum of money, by making use of the funds lately established for the payment of the civil-list annuities, in order to discharge the debts contracted in his civil government. Mr. Pulteney, cofferer of the household, moved for an address, That an account should be laid before the House of all monies paid for secret-service, pensions, and bounties, from the twenty-fifth day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and one, to the twenty-fifth of the same month in the present year. This address being voted, a motion was made to consider the king's message. Mr. Pulteney urged, that, this consideration should be postponed until the House should have examined the papers that were the subject of the address. He expressed his surprise that a debt amounting to above five hundred thousand pounds should be contracted in three years: he said he did not wonder

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that some persons should be so eager to make good the deficiencies of the civil-list, since they and their friends enjoyed such a share of that revenue; and he desired to know, whether this was all that was due, or whether they should expect another reckoning? This gentlemen began to be dissatisfied with the measures of the ministry; and his sarcasms were aimed at Mr. Walpole, who undertook to answer his objections. The Commons took the message into consideration, and passed a bill, enabling his Majesty to raise any sum, not exceeding one million, by Exchequer-bills, loans, or otherwise, on the credit of the deductions of six pence per pound, directed by an act of parliament of the seventh year of his Majesty, and of the civil-list revenues, at an interest not exceeding three pounds per cent. till repayment of the principal.

§ XXIII. On the twentieth day of April, a petition was presented to the House by Lord Finch, in behalf of Henry St. John, late Viscount Bolingbroke, praying that the execution of the law with respect to his forfeitures might be suspended, as a pardon had suspended it with respect to his life. Mr. Walpole signified to the House, by his Majesty's command, that seven years before, the petitioner had made his humble application and submission to the King, with assurances of duty, allegiance, and fidelity: that from his behaviour since that time, his Majesty was convinced of his being a fit object of his mercy; and consented to his petitioning the House. The petition being read, Mr. Walpole declared himself fully satisfied, that the petitioner had

sufficiently atoned for his past offences; and therefore deserved the favor of that House, so far as to enable him to enjoy the family-inheritance that was settled upon him, which he could not do by virtue of his Majesty's pardon, without an act of parliament. Lord Finch moved, That a bill might be brought in for this purpose, and was warmly opposed by Mr. Methuen, comptroller of the household, who represented Bolingbroke as a monster of iniquity. His remonstrance was supported by Lord William Paulet and Mr. Onslow: nevertheless, the bill was prepared, passed through both Houses, and received the royal assent. An act being passed for disarming the Highlanders of Scotland; another for regulating elections within the city of London; a third for reducing the interest of several Bank-annuities, together with some bills of a private nature, the parliament was prorogued in May, after the King had, in the warmest terms of acknowledgment, expressed his approbation of their conduct. Then he appointed lord-justices to govern the nation in his absence; and set out in June for his German dominions'.

⁷ On the fifth day of December the Princess of Wales was delivered of a princess, christened by the name of Louisa, and afterwards married to the King of Denmark. She died December the nineteenth, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one.

Immediately after the session of parliament the King revived the order of the Bath, thirty-eight in number, including the sovereign.

William Bateman was created Baron of Calmore in Ireland, and Viscount Bateman; and Sir Robert Walpole, who had been one of the revived knights of the Bath, was now honored with the order of the Garter.

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§ XXIV. The tide of political interests on the continent had begun to flow in a new channel, so as to render ineffectual the mounds which his Britannic Majesty had raised by his multiplicity of negotiations. Louis, the Spanish monarch, dying soon after his elevation to the throne, his father Philip resumed the crown which he had resigned; and gave himself up implicitly to the conduct of his Queen, who was a princess of indefatigable intrigue and insatiate ambition. The Infanta, who had been married to Louis XV. of France, was so disagreeable to her husband, that the whole French nation began to be apprehensive of a civil war, in consequence of his dying without male issue: he, therefore, determined, with the advice of his council, to send back the Infanta, as the nuptials had not been consummated; and she was attended to Madrid by the Marquis de Monteleone. The Queen of Spain resented this insult offered to her daughter; and, in revenge, dismissed Mademoiselle de Beaujolois, one of the Regent's daughters, who had been betrothed to her son Don Carlos. As the congress at Cambray had proved ineffectual, she offered to adjust her differences with the Emperor, under the sole mediation of Great-Britain. This was an honor which King George declined. He was averse to any undertaking that might interrupt the harmony subsisting between him and the court of Versailles; and he had taken umbrage at the Emperor's refusing to grant the investiture of Bremen and Verden, except upon terms which he did not chuse to embrace. The peace between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, which

he refused to mediate, was effected by a private negociation, under the management of the Duke de Ripperda, a native of the States-General, who had renounced the protestant religion, and entered in the service of his Catholic Majesty. By two treaties, signed at Vienna in the month of April, the Emperor acknowledged Philip as King of Spain and the Indies, promising that he would not molest him in the possession of those dominions that were secured to him by the treaty of Utrecht. Philip renounced all pretensions to the dominions in Italy and the Netherlands, adjudged to the Emperor by the treaty of London: Charles granted the investiture of the dukedoms of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, to the eldest son of the Queen of Spain, in default of heirs in the present possessors, as masculine fiefs of the empire. Spain became guarantee of the Austrian succession, according to the pragmatic sanction, by which the dominions of that house were settled on the Emperor's heirs general, and declared to be a perpetual, indivisible, and inseparable feoffment to the primogeniture. By the commercial treaty of Vienna, the Austrian subjects were entitled to advantages in trade with Spain, which no other nation enjoyed. His Catholic Majesty guaranteed the Ostend-East-India company; and agreed to pay an annual subsidy of four millions of piasters to the Emperor. Great sums were remitted to Vienna: the Imperial forces were augmented to a formidable number; and other powers were solicited to engage in this alliance, to which the court of Peterburgh actually acceded.

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§ XXV. The King of Great-Britain took the alarm. The Emperor and he had for some time treated each other with manifest coldness. He had reason to fear some attempt upon his German dominions; and projected a defensive treaty with France and Prussia. This alliance, limited to the term of fifteen years, was negociated and concluded at Hanover, in the month of September. It implied a mutual guarantee of the dominions possessed by the contracting parties, their rights and privileges, those of commerce in particular, and an engagement to procure satisfaction to the protestants of Thorn, who had lately been oppressed by the Catholics, contrary to the treaty of Oliva. The King having taken these precautions at Hanover, set out on his return for England; embarked at Helvoetsluys in the middle of December; and after having been exposed to the fury of a dreadful storm, was landed with great difficulty at Rye, from whence he proceeded by land to London. The parliament meeting on the twentieth day of the next month, he gave them to understand, that the distressed condition of some of their protestant brethren abroad, and the negotiations and engagements contracted by some foreign powers, which seemed to have laid the foundation of new troubles and disturbances in Europe, and to threaten his subjects with the loss of several of the most advantageous branches of their trade, had obliged him to concert with other powers such measures as might give a check to the ambitious views of those who were endeavouring to render themselves formidable; and put a stop to the further

progress of such dangerous designs. He told them, that the enemies of his government were already very busy, by their instruments and emissaries in those courts whose measures seemed most to favor their purposes, in soliciting and promoting the cause of the Pretender. One sees, at first sight, that the interests of Germany dictated the treaty of Hanover; but, in order to secure the approbation of Great-Britain, upon which the support of this alliance chiefly depended, it was judged necessary to insert the articles relating to commerce and the protestant religion, as if the engagement had been contracted purely for the advantage and glory of England. In a word, the ministry began now to ring the changes upon a few words that have been repeated ever since, like cabalistical sounds, by which the nation has been enchanted into a very dangerous connexion with the concerns of the continent. They harangued, they insisted upon the machinations of the disaffected, the designs of a popish pretender, the protestant interest, and the balance of power, until these expressions became absolutely terms of ridicule with every person of common sense and reflection. The people were told, that the Emperor and the King of Spain, exclusive of the public treaties concluded at Vienna, had entered into private engagements, importing, that the Imperialists should join the Spaniards in recovering Gibraltar and Port-Mahon by force of arms, in case the King of England should refuse to restore them amicably, according to a solemn promise he had made: that a double marriage should take place between the two Infants of Spain, and

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the two Archduchesses of Austria; and that means should be taken to place the Pretender on the throne of Great-Britain.

§ XXVI. When the treaties of Vienna and Hanover fell under consideration of the House of Commons, Horatio Walpole, afterwards termed, in derision, "the balance-master," opened the debate with a long, unanimated oration, giving a detail of the affairs of Europe since the treaty of Utrecht. He enumerated the barrier-treaty, the convention for executing that treaty, the defensive alliance with the Emperor, the other with the Most-Christian King and the States-General, another convention, the quadruple alliance, the congress at Cambray, the treaty of Hanover, and that of Vienna. He explained the nature of each engagement. He said, the main design of the treaty of commerce concluded between the Emperor and Spain, was to countenance and support the East-India company established at Ostend, which interfered so essentially with the East-India companies of England and Holland, and was directly contrary to several solemn treaties still in force. He enlarged upon the danger to which the balance of power would be exposed, should the issue-male of this projected marriage between the Houses of Austria and Spain ever possess the Imperial dignity and the kingdom of Spain together. The reader will take notice, that this very man was one of those who exclaimed against that article of the treaty of Utrecht, which prevented the power of those two houses from being immediately united in the person of the

Emperor. He did not forget to expatiate upon the pretended secret engagement concerning Gibraltar and Minorca ; and the King's pious concern for the distressed protestants of Thorn in Poland. In vain did Mr. Shippen urge , that the treaty of Hanover would engage the British nation in a war for the defence of the King's German dominions , contrary to an express provision made in the act of limitation. These arguments had lost all weight. The opposition was so inconsiderable , that the ministry had no reason to be in pain about any measure they should propose. An address was voted and delivered to his Majesty , approving the alliance he had concluded at Hanover , in order to obviate and disappoint the dangerous views and consequences of the treaty of peace betwixt the Emperor and the King of Spain ; and promising to support his Majesty against all insults and attacks that should be made upon any of his territories , though not belonging to the crown of Great-Britain. An address of the same kind was presented by the House of Lords in a body. A bill was brought in , empowering the commissioners of the Treasury to compound with Mr. Richard Hampden , late treasurer of the navy , for a debt he owed to the crown , amounting to eight - and - forty thousand pounds. This deficiency was occasioned by his embarking in the South - Sea scheme. The King recommended his petition ; and the House complied with his request , in consideration of his great grandfather , the famous John Hampden , who made such a noble stand against the arbitrary measures of the first Charles.

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§ XXVII. The malt-tax was found so grievous to Scotland, that the people refused to pay it, and riots were excited in different parts of the kingdom. At Glasgow, the populace, armed with clubs and staves, rifled the house of Daniel Campbell, their representative in parliament, who had voted for the bill; and maltreated some excisemen, who attempted to take an account of the malt. General Wade, who commanded the forces in Scotland, had sent two companies of soldiers, under the command of Captain Bushel, to prevent or appease any disturbance of this nature. That officer drew up his men in the street, where they were pelted with stones by the multitude, which he endeavoured to disperse, by firing among them without shot. This expedient failing, he ordered his men to load their pieces with ball, and at a time when the magistrates were advancing towards him in a body, to assist him with their advice and influence, he commanded the soldiers to fire four different ways, without the sanction of the civil authority. Above twenty persons were killed or wounded on this occasion. The people seeing so many victims fall, were exasperated beyond all sense of danger. They began to procure arms, and breathed nothing but defiance and revenge. Bushel thought proper to retreat to the castle of Dumbarton; and was pursued above five miles by the enraged multitude. General Wade being informed of this transaction, assembled a body of forces; and being accompanied by Duncan Forbes, lord-advocate, took possession of Glasgow. The magistrates were apprehended, and conveyed

prisoners to Edinburgh, where the lords justiciary, having taken cognizance of the affair, declared them innocent; so that they were immediately discharged. Bushel was tried for murder, convicted, and condemned; but, instead of undergoing the penalties of the law, he was indulged with a pardon, and promoted in the service^{*}. Daniel Campbell having petitioned the House of Commons, that he might be indemnified for the damage he had sustained from the rioters, a bill passed in his favor, granting him a certain sum, to be raised from an imposition laid upon all the beer and ale brewed in the city of Glasgow. The malt-tax was so sensibly felt in Scotland, that the convention of the royal burghs presented a remonstrance against it, as a grievous burden, which their country could not bear: petitions to the same purport were delivered to the Commons from different shires of that kingdom[†]. On the

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^{*} Oldmixon. Annals. Deb. in Par. Mém. Hist. Tindal.

[†] The Duke of Wharton, having consumed his fortune in riot and extravagance, repaired to the court of Vienna, from whence he proceeded to Rome, and offered his service to the Pretender. There he received the order of the Garter, and the title of Duke of Northumberland. He was sent by the Chevalier de St. George with credentials to the court of Madrid, where he abjured the protestant religion, married a lady of the Queen of Spain's bedchamber, and obtained the rank and appointment of a lieutenant-colonel in the Spanish service.

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measures as should be necessary in the present conjuncture. A debate ensued: but the majority complied with the demand. Some members in the Upper House complained that the message was not sent to both Houses of parliament; and this suggestion gave rise to another debate, in which Lord Bathurst and others made some melancholy reflections upon the state of insignificance to which the peers of England were reduced. Such remarks, however, were very little minded by the ministry, who had obtained a complete victory over all opposition. The supplies, ordinary and extraordinary, being granted, with every thing else which the court thought proper to ask, and several bills passed for the regulation of civil economy, the King dismissed the parliament on the twenty-fourth day of May.

§ XXVIII. By this time Peter the Czar of Muscovy was dead, and his empress Catharine had succeeded him on the Russian throne. This princess had begun to assemble forces in the neighbourhood of Petersburgh; and to prepare a formidable armament for a naval expedition. King George, concluding that her design was against Sweden, sent a strong squadron into the Baltic, under the command of Sir Charles Wager, in order to anticipate her views upon his allies. The English fleet being joined at Copenhagen by a Danish squadron, alarmed the court of Russia, which immediately issued orders for re-enforcing the garrisons of Wiburgh, Cronstadt, Revel, and Riga. The English Admiral, having had an audience of his Swedish Majesty, steered

towards Revel, and sent thither a lieutenant, with a letter from the King of Great-Britain to the Czarina. This was an expostulation, in which his Majesty observed, that he and his allies could not fail of being alarmed at her great preparations by sea and land. He complained that measures had been taken at her court in favor of the Pretender: that his repeated instances for establishing a lasting friendship with the crown of Russia had been treated with neglect; and he gave her to understand, that he had ordered his Admiral to prevent her ships from coming out of her harbours, should she persist in her resolution to execute the designs she had projected. The Czarina, in her answer to the King, expressed her surprise, that she had not received his Majesty's letter until his fleet was at anchor before Revel, since it would have been more agreeable to the custom established among sovereigns, and to the amity which had so long subsisted between her kingdoms and the crown of Great-Britain, to expostulate with her on her armament, and expect her answer, before he had proceeded to such an offensive measure. She assured him that nothing was farther from her thoughts than any designs to disturb the peace of the North; and with regard to the Pretender, it was a frivolous and stale accusation, which had been frequently used as a pretext to cover all the unkind steps lately taken against the Russian empire. Sir Charles Wager continued in his station until he received certain intelligence that the Russian gallies were laid up in their winter-harbour: then he set sail for the coast of

B O O K Denmark, from whence he returned to England
 II. in the month of November.

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§ XXIX. King George, that he might not seem to convert all his attention to the affairs of the North, had equipped two other squadrons; one of which was destined for the West-Indies, under the command of Admiral Hofier: the other, conducted by Sir John Jennings, having on board a body of land-forces, sailed from St. Helen's on the twentieth day of July, entered the bay of St. Antonio, then visited Lisbon, from whence he directed his course to the bay of Bulls, near Cadiz, and cruised off Cape St. Mary's, so as to alarm the coast of Spain, and fill Madrid with consternation. Yet he committed no act of hostility; but was treated with great civility by the Spanish governor of Cadiz, who supplied him with refreshments. Rear-Admiral Hofier, with seven ships of war, had sailed in April for the Spanish West-Indies, with instructions to block up the galleons in the ports of that country; or, should they presume to come out, to seize and bring them to England. Before his arrival at the Bastimentos, near Porto-Bello, the treasure, consisting of above six millions sterling, had been unloaded, and carried back to Panama, in pursuance of an order sent by an advice-boat, which had the start of Hofier. This Admiral lay inactive on that station, until he became the jest of the Spaniards. He returned to Jamaica, where he found means to re-enforce his crews: then he stood over to Carthagená. The Spaniards had by this time seized the English South-Sea ship at la Vera-Cruz, together with all the

vessels and effects belonging to that company. Ho-
fier in vain demanded restitution : he took some
Spanish ships by way of reprisal , and continued
cruising in those seas until the greater part of his
men perished deplorably by the diseases of that un-
healthy climate ; and his ships were totally ruined
by the worms. This brave officer being restricted
by his orders from obeying the dictates of his cou-
rage, seeing his best officers and men daily swept
off by an outrageous distemper, and his ships ex-
posed to inevitable destruction, is said to have died
of a broken heart ; while the people of England
loudly clamored against this unfortunate expedi-
tion, in which so many lives were thrown away,
and so much money expended, without the least
advantage to the nation. It seems to have been a
mean, piratical scheme to rob the court of Spain of
its expected treasure, even while a peace subsisted
between the two nations. The ministry of Great-
Britain indeed alledged, that the Spanish King had
entered into engagements in favor of the Pretender.

§ XXX. The Dukes of Ormond and Wharton,
and the Earl Marischal, were certainly at Madrid ;
and the Duke de Ripperda, now prime-minister of
Spain, dropped some expressions to the English
envoy, that implied some such design, which,
however, the court of Madrid positively denied.
Ripperda, as a foreigner, fell a sacrifice to the jea-
lousy of the Spanish ministers. He was suddenly
dismissed from his employments, with a pension
of three thousand pistoles. He forthwith took
refuge in the house of Vandermeer the Dutch

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Ambassador, who was unwilling to be troubled with such a guest. He, therefore, conveyed the Duke in his coach to the house of Colonel Stanhope, the British minister, whose protection he craved and obtained. Nevertheless, he was dragged from thence by force, and committed prisoner to the castle of Segovia. He afterwards made his escape, and sheltered himself in England, from the resentment of his Catholic Majesty. Colonel Stanhope complained of this violation of the law of nations, which the Spanish ministers endeavoured to excuse. Memorials and letters passed between the two courts; and every thing tended to a rupture. The King of Spain purchased ships of war: began to make preparations for some important undertaking; and assembled an army of twenty thousand men at St. Roch, on pretence of rebuilding the old castle of Gibraltar. Mean while the States-General and the King of Sweden acceded to the treaty of Hanover: but the King of Prussia, though his Majesty's son-in-law, was detached from the alliance by the Emperor, with whom he contracted new engagements.

§ XXXI. On the seventeenth day of January, the British parliament was opened with a long, elaborate speech, importing that the proceedings and transactions of the Emperor and King of Spain, and the secret offensive alliances concluded between them, had laid the foundations of a most exorbitant and formidable power: that they were directly levelled against the most valuable and darling interests and privileges of the English nation, which must either
give

give up Gibraltar to Spain, and acquiesce in the Emperor's usurped exercise of commerce, or resolve vigorously to defend their undoubted right against those reciprocal engagements, contracted in defiance and violation of all national faith, and the most solemn treaties. He assured them, that one of those secret articles was, the placing the Pretender on the throne of Great-Britain; and another the conquest of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon. He affirmed that those combinations extended themselves into Russia; and that the English fleet seasonably prevented such designs as would have opened a way to the invasion of these kingdoms. He exhorted the Commons to grant such supplies as should be necessary for the defence of their country, and for making good his engagements with the allies of Great-Britain. He told them, that the King of Spain had ordered his minister residing in England to quit the kingdom; and that he had left a memorial, little short of a declaration, in which he insisted upon the restitution of Gibraltar. He did not fail to touch the energetic strings which always moved their passions; the balance of power in Europe, the security of the British commerce, the designs of a popish pretender, the present happy establishment, the religion, liberties, and properties of a protestant people. Such addresses of thanks were penned in both Houses as the ministers were pleased to dictate; yet not without opposition from a minority, which was far from being formidable, though headed by chiefs of uncommon talents and resolution. The Commons voted

B O O K twenty thousand seamen, besides six - and - twenty
 11 thousand three hundred eighty-three men for the land-
 1726. service; and, to defray the extraordinary expence, a
 land-tax of four shillings in the pound was granted.

§ XXXII. The House of Lords having taken into consideration the letters and memorials between the ministers of Great-Britain, France, and Spain, and the papers relating to the accession of the States-General to the treaty of Hanover, a warm debate ensued. Lord Bathurst took notice, that the accession of the States-General to the treaty was upon condition that this their act should be approved and ratified by the King of Great-Britain, the most Christian King, and the King of Prussia; but that the minister of his Prussian Majesty had refused to sign the act of accession, which was therefore of no effect: that if the court of France should, for the same reason, think itself disengaged from the Hanover alliance, Britain alone would be obliged to bear the burden of an expensive war against two of the greatest potentates of Europe. He said he could not see any just reason for a rupture with Spain: that indeed the Duke de Ripperda might have dropped some indiscrete expressions: he was known to be a man of a violent temper; and he had been solemnly disavowed by his Catholic Majesty: that, in the memorial left by the Spanish ambassador, he imputed the violent state of affairs between the two crowns to the ministers of England; and mentioned a positive promise made by the King of Great-Britain for the restitution of Gibraltar: that methods of accommodation might be tried, before the kingdom engaged in a war which must be attended with dangerous

consequences: that the nation was loaded with a debt of fifty millions; and, in order to maintain such a war, would be obliged to raise seven millions yearly; an annual sum by which the people would soon be exhausted. He observed, that in some papers laid before the House, mention was made of great sums distributed in divers places, to bring certain measures to bear. He declared, that for his own part, he had touched neither Spanish nor English gold; he was neither a Spaniard nor a Frenchman, but a true Englishman, and so long as he had the honor to sit in that House, he would speak and act for the good of his country. He therefore, desired their lordships seriously to consider the matter before them, which was of the last consequence and importance to the whole nation. He said nothing could be gained by the war, should it prove successful: and every thing would be lost should it be unprosperous. He was answered by Lord Townshend, who affirmed that his Majesty had received positive and certain information with respect to the secret article of alliance between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, in favor of the Pretender, though the safety of the state did not permit him to lay these advices before the parliament. After much altercation, the majority resolved, that the measures his Majesty had thought fit to take were honorable, just and necessary, for preventing the execution of the dangerous engagements entered into in favor of the Pretender; for preserving the dominions belonging to the crown of Great-Britain by solemn treaties, and particularly those of Gibraltar and the island

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of Minorca; and for maintaining to his people their most valuable rights and privileges of commerce, and the peace and tranquillity of Europe. Seventeen lords entered a protest against this resolution. Disputes of the same nature arose from the same subject in the Lower House. Lord Townshend had affirmed in the House of Peers, that no promise of restoring Gibraltar had been made: Sir Robert Walpole owned such a promise in the House of Commons: a motion was made for an address, desiring these engagements might be laid before the House: another member moved for a copy of the memorial presented by Mr. Pointz to the King of Sweden, and for the secret offensive article between the courts of Vienna and Madrid: a third motion was made, to address the King for such memorials and representations from the courts of Sweden and Denmark, as induced him, in the course of the preceding year, to send a squadron to the Baltic. In the account of the money granted for the service of the last year, there was an article of one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds charged in general terms, as issued out for other engagements and expenses, over and above such as were specified. Mr. Pulteney moved for an address on this subject, but each of these motions was rejected on a division; and the majority concurred in an address of thanks to his Majesty, for the great wisdom of his conduct. They expressed the most implicit confidence in his goodness and discretion: they promised to support him in all such further measures as he should find necessary and expedient for preventing a rupture as well as for consulting the honor and advantage of these kingdoms.

§ XXXIII. His Majesty's speech gave such umbrage to the Court of Vienna, that Mr. Palms, the Imperial resident at London was ordered to present a warm memorial to the King, and afterwards to publish it to the whole nation. In this bold remonstrance, the King was charged with having declared from the throne, as certain and undoubted facts, several things that were either wrested, misrepresented, or void of all foundation. The memorialist affirmed, that the treaty of Vienna was built on the quadruple alliance: that the treaty of commerce was calculated to promote the mutual and lawful advantages of the subjects of both parties, agreeably to the law of nations; and in no respect prejudicial to the British nation. He declared, that there was no offensive alliance concluded between the two crowns. that the supposed article relating to the Pretender was an absolute falsehood: that the insinuation with respect to the siege of Gibraltar was equally untrue, his master having made no engagements with the King of Spain but such as were specified in the treaty communicated to his Britannic Majesty. He said, however, the hostilities notoriously committed in the West-Indies, and elsewhere, against the King of Spain, in violation of treaties, seemed to justify that prince's undertaking the siege of Gibraltar. Finally, he demanded, in the name of his Imperial Majesty, suitable reparation for the injury his honor had sustained from such calumnious imputations. Both Houses of parliament expressed their indignation at the insolence of this memorial, in an address to his Majesty, and Mr. Palms was ordered to depart the kingdom.

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Virulent declarations were presented by the ministers of the Emperor and the King of Great-Britain to the diet of the empire at Ratisbon; and such personal reflections retorted between these two potentates, that all hope of reconciliation vanished.

§ XXXIV. King George, in order to secure himself against the impending storm, entered into more strict engagements with the French King; and agreed to pay fifty thousand pounds for three years to the King of Sweden, in consideration of that prince's holding in readiness a body of ten thousand troops for the occasions of the alliance. He concluded a fresh treaty with the King of Denmark, who promised to furnish a certain number of auxiliaries, on account of a large subsidy granted by the King of France. The proportions of troops to be sent into the field, in case of a rupture, were ascertained. His Britannic Majesty engaged for four-and-twenty thousand men, and a strong squadron to be sent into the Baltic. He made a convention with the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, who undertook to provide eight thousand infantry, and four thousand horse, in consideration of seventy-four thousand pounds, to be paid by Great-Britain immediately, and fifty thousand pounds more in case the troops should be required, besides their pay and subsistence. Such was the fruit of all the alliances so industriously planned since the accession of King George to the throne of Great-Britain¹⁰. In the day of his trouble, the King

¹⁰ Annals. Deb. in Par. Tindal. Lives of the Admirals.

of Prussia, who had espoused his daughter, deserted his interest; and the States-General stood aloof. For the security of his German dominions, he had recourse to the King of France who was a precarious ally; to the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, and the principality of Hesse Cassel: but none of these powers would contribute their assistance without being gratified with exorbitant subsidies, though the danger was common, and the efforts ought to have been equal. Instead of allies, they professed themselves mercenaries. Great-Britain paid them for the defence of their own dominions: she, moreover, undertook to maintain a powerful fleet for their safety. Is there any Briton so weak as to think, or so fool-hardy as to affirm, that this was a British quarrel.

§ XXXV. For the support of those expensive treaties, Mr. Scroope, secretary of the Treasury, moved in the House of Commons, that in the malt-tax bill they should insert a clause of appropriation, empowering the King to apply such sums as should be necessary, for defraying the expenses and engagements which had been, or should be made before the twenty-fifth day of September, in concerting such measures as he should think most conducive to the security of trade, and restoring the peace of Europe. To little purpose did the members in the opposition urge, that this method of asking and granting supplies was unparliamentary: that such a clause would render ineffectual that appropriation of the public money, which the wisdom of all

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parliaments had thought a necessary security against misapplication, which was the more to be feared, as no provision was made to call any person to account for the money that should be disposed of by virtue of this clause: that great sums had already been granted: that such an unlimited power ought never to be given in a free government: that such confidence in the crown might, through the influence of evil ministers, be attended with the most dangerous consequences: that the constitution could not be preserved, but by a strict adherence to those essential parliamentary forms of granting supplies upon estimates, and of appropriating these supplies to services and occasions publicly avowed and judged necessary; that such clauses, if not seasonably checked, would become so frequent, as in time to lodge in the crown, and in the ministers, an absolute and uncontrollable power of raising money upon the people, which by the constitution is, and with safety can only be, lodged in the whole legislature. The motion was carried, the clause added, and the bill passed through the other House without amendment, though not without opposition. Notwithstanding this vote of credit, Sir William Yonge moved, that towards the supply granted to the King, the sum of three hundred and seventy thousand pounds should be raised by loans on Exchequer-Bills, to be charged on the surplus of the duties on coal and culm, which was reserved for the parliament's disposal. Though this motion was vigorously opposed by Sir Joseph Jekyl and Mr. Pulteney, as a dangerous deviation from several votes and acts of parliament, by which the exceedings of the public funds were appropriated to the discharge

of the national debt, or to the increase of the sinking fund, it was carried by the majority.

§ XXXVI. On the fifteenth day of May the parliament was prorogued, after the King had acknowledged their zeal, liberality, and dispatch; and given them to understand that the siege of Gibraltar was actually begun. The trenches were opened before this fortress on the eleventh day of February, by the Conde de las Torres, at the head of twenty thousand men. The place was well provided for a defence; and the old Earl of Portmore, who was governor, embarked with a re-enforcement from England, under convoy of a fleet commanded by Sir Charles Wager. He arrived at Gibraltar in the beginning of April, where he landed the troops, with a great quantity of ammunition, warlike stores, and four-and-twenty pieces of cannon. At the same time, five hundred men arrived from Minorca, so that the garrison amounted to six thousand, plentifully supplied with fresh provisions from the coast of Barbary, and treated the efforts of the besiegers with great contempt. The States-General, being apprehensive of an attempt upon their barrier in the Netherlands, desired the King would hold in readiness the ten thousand auxiliaries stipulated in the treaty. These were immediately prepared for embarkation, and the forces of England were augmented with thirty new-raised companies. Sir John Norris set sail with a powerful fleet for the Baltic, and was joined by a Danish squadron: but the Czarina dying on the seventeenth day of May, he had no occasion to commit hostilities, as the Russian armament was laid aside.

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§ XXXVII. Mean while the powers at variance, though extremely irritated against each other, were all equally averse to a war that might again embroil all Europe. The King of France interposed his mediation, which was conducted by the Duke de Richlieu, his ambassador at Vienna. Plans and counterplans of pacification were proposed between the two crowns and the allies. At length all parties agreed to twelve preliminary articles, which were signed in May at Paris, by the ministers of the Hanoverian alliance, and afterwards at Vienna, by the Imperial and Spanish ambassadors. These imported that hostilities should immediately cease: that the charter of the Ostend company should be suspended for seven years: and that a congress should in four months be opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, for adjusting all differences, and consolidating the peace of Europe. This congress was afterwards transferred to Soissons, for the conveniency of the French ministers, whose presence was necessary at court. The siege of Gibraltar was raised, after it had lasted four months, during which the Spaniards lost a great number of men by sickness, while the garrison sustained very little damage. The court of Madrid, however, started some new difficulties, and for some time would not consent to the restitution of the South-Sea ship, which had been detained at La Vera Cruz, in the West-Indies; so that Sir Charles Wager continued to cruise on the coast of Spain: but these objections were removed in the sequel.

§ XXXVIII. King George, having appointed a regency, embarked at Greenwich, on the third

day of June, and landing in Holland on the seventh, set out on his journey to Hanover. He was suddenly seized with a paralytic disorder on the road: he forthwith lost the faculty of speech, became lethargic, and was conveyed in a state of insensibility to Osnabruck. There he expired on Sunday the eleventh day of June, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and in the thirteenth of his reign. George I. was plain and simple in his person and address; grave and composed in his deportment, though easy, familiar, and facetious in his hours of relaxation. Before he ascended the throne of Great-Britain, he had acquired the character of a circumspect general, a just and merciful prince, a wise politician, who perfectly understood, and steadily pursued his own interest. With these qualities, it cannot be doubted but that he came to England extremely well disposed to govern his new subjects according to the maxims of the British constitution, and the genius of the people; and if ever he seemed to deviate from these principles, we may take it for granted, that he was misled by the venal suggestions of a ministry whose power and influence were founded on corruption.

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¹¹ George I. married the Princess Sophia Dorothy, daughter and heiress of the Duke of Zell, by whom he had King George II. and the late Queen of Prussia. The King's body was conveyed to Hanover, and interred among his ancestors.

From the death of Charles II. to this period, England had made a considerable figure in every branch of literature. Dr. Atterbury and Dr. Clarke distinguished themselves in divinity—Mr. Whiston wrote in defence of Arianism—John Locke shone forth the great restorer of human reason—

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the Earl of Shaftesbury raised an elegant, though feeble, system of moral philosophy, Berkley, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne in Ireland, surpassed all his contemporaries in subtlety and variety of metaphysical arguments, as well as in the art of deduction—Lord Bolingbroke's talents as a metaphysician have been questioned since his posthumous works appeared—great progress was made in mathematics and astronomy, by Wallis, Halley, and Flamsteed—the art of medicine owed some valuable improvements to the classical Dr. Friend, and the elegant Dr. Mead. Among the poets of this era we number John Philips, author of a didactic poem called *Cider*, a performance of real merit; he lived and died in obscurity—William Congreve, celebrated for his comedies, which are not so famous for strength of character and power of humor, as for wit, elegance, and regularity—Vanburgh, who wrote with more nature and fire, though with less art and precision—Steele, who in his comedies successfully engrafted modern characters on the ancient drama—Farquhar, who drew his pictures from fancy rather than from nature, and whose chief merit consists in the agreeable pertness and vivacity of his dialogue—Addison, whose fame as a poet greatly exceeded his genius, which was cold and enervate; though he yielded to none in the character of an essayist, either for style or matter—Swift, whose muse seems to have been mere misanthropy: he was a cynic rather than a poet, and his natural dryness and sarcastic severity would have been unpleasing, had not he qualified them, by adopting the extravagant humor of Lucian and Rabelais—Prior, lively familiar, and amusing—Rowe, solemn, florid, and declamatory—Pope, the prince of lyric poetry, unrivalled in satire, ethics, and polished versification—the agreeable Parnell—the wild, the witty and the whimsical Garth—Gay, whose fables may vie with those of La Fontaine, in native humor, ease, and simplicity; and whose genius for pastoral was truly original. Dr. Bentley stood foremost in the list of critics and commentators. Sir Christopher Wren raised some noble monuments of architecture. The most remarkable political writers were Davenant, Hare, Swift, Steele, Addison, Bolingbroke, and Trenchard.

CHAP. IV.

§ I. George II. ascends the throne of Great-Britain. II. Character of the principal persons concerned in the ministry. III. Debates in parliament concerning the civil-list. IV. Changes and promotions. V. New Parliament. VI. Violent dispute concerning the national debt. VII. Vote of credit. VIII. A double marriage between the houses of Spain and Portugal. IX. Liberality of the Commons. X. Debate on the subsidies to Hesse-Cassel and Wolfenbuttle. XI. Committee for inspecting the gaols. XII. Address touching the Spanish depredations. XIII. A sum voted to the King on account of arrears due on the civil-list-revenue. XIV. Proceedings in the House of Lords. XV. Wise conduct of the Irish parliament. XVI. Abdication of the King of Sardinia. Death of Pope Benedict XIII. XVII. Substance of the King's speech to both Houses. XVIII. Objections to the treaty of Seville in the House of Lords. XIX. Opposition in the Lower House to a standing army. XX. Bill prohibiting loans to foreign princes or states. XXI. Charter of the East-India company prolonged. XXII. The Emperor resents the treaty of Seville. XXIII. Seven Indian chiefs arrive in England. Revolution at Constantinople. XXIV. England infested with robbers, assassins, and incendiaries. XXV. Bill against pensioners sitting as members in the House of Commons.

XXVI. *Treaty of Vienna* XXVII. *Death of the Duke of Parma.* XXVIII. *Don Carlos takes possession of his territories.* XXIX. *France distracted by religious disputes.* XXX. *The ministry violently opposed in parliament.* XXXI. *Debate on a standing army.* XXXII. *Account of the charitable corporation.* XXXIII. *Revival of the salt-tax* XXXIV. *Mr. Pulteney's name struck out of the list of privy-counsellors.* XXXV. *The King sets out for Hanover.*

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§ I. **A**T the accession of George II. the nation had great reason to wish for an alteration of measures. The public debt, notwithstanding the boasted economy and management of the ministers; notwithstanding the sinking fund, which had been extolled as a growing treasure sacred to the discharge of national incumbrances; was now increased to fifty millions two hundred sixty-one thousand two hundred and six pounds, nineteen shillings, eight pence three farthings. The kingdom was bewildered in a labyrinth of treaties and conventions, by which it stood engaged in pecuniary subsidies to many powers upon the continent, with whom its real interests could never be connected. The wealth of the nation had been lavished upon these foreign connexions; upon unnecessary wars, and fruitless expeditions. Dangerous encroachments had been made upon the constitution, by the repeal of the act for triennial parliaments; by frequent suspensions of the Habeas-Corpus-act upon frivolous occasions; by repealing clauses in the act of settlement; by votes of credit; by habituating the people to a standing army;

and, above all, by establishing a system of corruption, which at all times would secure a majority in parliament. The nature of prerogative, by which the liberties of the nation had formerly been often endangered, was now so well understood, and so securely restrained, that it could no longer be used for the same oppressive purposes: besides an avowed extension of the prerogative required more ability, courage, and resolution, than the present ministry could exert. They understood their own strength, and had recourse to a more safe and effectual expedient. The vice, luxury, and prostitution of the age, the almost total extinction of sentiment, honor, and public spirit, had prepared the minds of men for slavery and corruption. The means were in the hands of the ministry: the public treasure was at their devotion: they multiplied places and pensions, to increase the number of their dependents: they squandered away the money of the nation without taste, discernment, decency, or remorse: they enlisted an army of the most abandoned emissaries whom they employed to vindicate the worst measures, in the face of truth, common sense, and common honesty; and they did not fail to stigmatize as Jacobites, and enemies to the government, all those who presumed to question the merit of their administration.

§ II. The supreme direction of affairs was not yet engrossed by a single minister. Lord Townshend had the reputation of conducting the external transactions relating to treaties and negotiations. He is said to have understood that province, though

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he did not always follow the dictates of his own understanding. He possessed an extensive fund of knowledge; and was well acquainted with the functions of his office. The Duke of N. his colleague, was not remarkable for any of these qualifications: he owed his promotion to his uncommon zeal for the illustrious house of Hanover, and to the strength of his interest in parliament, rather than to his judgment, precision, or any other intellectual merit. Lord C. who may be counted an auxiliary, though not immediately concerned in the administration, had distinguished himself in the character of envoy at several courts in Europe. He had attained an intimate knowledge of all the different interests and connexions subsisting among the powers of the continent; and he infinitely surpassed all the ministers in learning and capacity. He was, indeed, the only man of genius employed under this government. He spoke with ease and propriety: his conceptions were just and lively, his inferences bold; his counsels vigorous and warm. Yet he depreciated his talents, by acting in a subordinate character to those whom he despised; and seemed to look upon the pernicious measures of a bad ministry with silent contempt, rather than with avowed detestation. The interior government of Great-Britain was chiefly managed by Sir Robert W. a man of extraordinary talents, who had from low beginnings raised himself to the head of the Treasury. Having obtained a seat in the Lower House, he declared himself one of the most forward partisans

of the Whig-faction. He was endued with a species of eloquence, which, though neither nervous nor elegant, flowed with great facility, and was so plausible on all subjects, that even when he misrepresented the truth, whether from ignorance or design, he seldom failed to persuade that part of his audience for whose hearing his harangue was chiefly intended. He was well acquainted with the nature of the public funds, and understood the whole mystery of stock-jobbing. This knowledge produced a connexion between him and the money-corporations, which served to enhance his importance. He perceived the bulk of mankind were actuated by a sordid thirst of lucre: he had sagacity enough to convert the degeneracy of the times to his own advantage; and on this, and this alone, he founded the whole superstructure of his subsequent administration. In the late reign he had, by dint of speaking decisively to every question, by boldly impeaching the conduct of the Tory-ministers, by his activity in elections, and engaging as a projector in the schemes of the monied-interest, become a leading member in the House of Commons. By his sufferings under the Tory-parliament, he attained the rank of a martyr to his party: his interest, his reputation, and his presumption daily increased: he opposed Sunderland as his rival in power, and headed a dangerous defection from the ministry, which evinced the greatness of his influence and authority. He had the glory of being principally concerned in effecting a reconciliation between the late King and the Prince of Wales: then he was

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re-associated in the administration with additional credit; and, from the death of the Earls of Sunderland and Stanhope, he had been making long strides towards the office of prime-minister. He knew the maxims he had adopted would subject him to the hatred, the ridicule, and reproach of some individuals, who had not yet resigned all sentiments of patriotism, nor all views of opposition: but the number of these was inconsiderable, when compared to that which constituted the body of the community; and he would not suffer the consideration of such antagonists to come in competition with his schemes of power, affluence and authority. Nevertheless, low as he had humbled antiministerial association, it required all his artifice to elude, all his patience and natural phlegm to bear the powerful arguments that were urged, and the keen satire that was exercised against his measures and management, by a few members in the opposition. Sir William Wyndham possessed all the energy of elocution: Mr. Shippen was calm, intrepid, shrewd, and sarcastic: Mr. Hungerford, sly, insinuating, and ironical. Mr. W. P. inherited from nature a good understanding, which he had studiously cultivated. He was one of the most learned members in the House of Commons, extremely well qualified to judge of literary productions; well read in history and politics; deeply skilled in the British constitution, the detail of government, and the nature of the finances. He spoke with freedom, fluency, and uncommon warmth of declamation, which was said to be the effect of personal animosity to Sir R. W. with whom he had been formerly connected.

§ III. An exprefs arriving on the fourteenth day of June, with an account of the King's death, his late Majesty King George II. repaired from Richmond, where he received this intelligence, to Leicester-House; and the members of the privy-council being assembled, were sworn a-new. The King declared his firm purpose to preserve the constitution in church and state, and to cultivate those alliances which his father had made with foreign princes. At the same time, he took and subscribed the oath for the security of the church of Scotland, as required by the act of Union. Next day he was proclaimed King of Great-Britain. The parliament assembled in pursuance of the act made for that purpose; but was immediately prorogued by commission to the twenty-seventh day of the month. All the great officers of state continued in their places: Sir Robert Walpole kept possession of the Treasury; and the system of politics which the late king had established underwent no sort of alteration. The King, in his speech to both Houses at the opening of the session, professed a fixed resolution to merit the love and affection of his people, by maintaining them in the full enjoyment of their religious and civil rights. He promised to lessen the public expence as soon as the circumstances of affairs would permit: he observed to the Commons, that the grant of the greatest part of the civil-list-revenues was now determined; and that it would be necessary for them to make a new provision for the support of him and his family: lastly, he recommended it to both Houses to dispatch the business that should be

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necessarily brought before them, as the season of the year and the circumstances of time required their presence in the country. Addresses of condolence and congratulation being drawn up and presented, the Commons, in a committee of the whole House, took into consideration a motion for a supply to his Majesty. Sir Robert Walpole having observed that the annual sum of seven hundred thousand pounds granted to, and settled on the late King, had fallen short every year; and that his present Majesty's expenses were likely to increase, by reason of the largeness of his family, moved that the entire revenues of the civil-list, which produced about eight hundred thousand pounds per annum, should be settled on the King during his life. Mr. Shippen opposed this motion, as inconsistent with the trust reposed in them as representatives of the people, who ought to be very frugal in exercising the right of giving away the public money. He said the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds was not obtained for his late Majesty without a long and solemn debate; and every member who contended for it at that time allowed it to be an ample royal revenue: that, although his Majesty's family should be enlarged, a circumstance which had been urged as one reason for the motion, he presumed the appointments of Prince Frederic would be much inferior to those settled on his present Majesty when he was Prince of Wales: besides, it was to be hoped that many personal, many particular expenses in the late reign, especially those for frequent journies to Hanover, would be discontinued, and entirely cease.

He observed that the civil-list-branches in the Queen's reign did not often exceed the sum of five hundred and fifty thousand pounds; nevertheless, she called upon her parliament but once, in a reign of thirteen years, to pay the debts contracted in her civil government; and these were occasioned by the unparalleled instances of her piety and generosity. She gave the first-fruits and tenths, arising to nineteen thousand pounds a-year, as an augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy. She bestowed five thousand pounds per annum, out of the Post-Office, on the Duke of Marlborough: she suffered seven hundred pounds to be charged weekly on the same office, for the service of the public: she expended several hundred thousand pounds in building the castle of Blenheim: she allowed four thousand pounds annually to Prince Charles of Denmark: she sustained great losses by the tin-contract: she supported the poor Palatines: she exhibited many other proofs of royal bounty; and immediately before her death she had formed a plan of retrenchment, which would have reduced her yearly expenses to four hundred and fifty-nine thousand nine hundred and forty-one pounds. He affirmed that a million a-year would not be sufficient to carry on the exorbitant expenses, so often and so justly complained of in the House of Commons: that over and above the yearly allowance of seven hundred thousand pounds, many occasional taxes, many excessive sums were raised, and all sunk in the bottomless gulf of secret service. Two hundred and fifty thousand pounds were raised in defiance of the ancient parliamentary

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methods, to secure the kingdom from a Swedish invasion: then the two insurance-offices were erected, and paid near three hundred thousand pounds for their charters: our enmity with Sweden being changed into alliance, a subsidy of seventy-two thousand pounds was implicitly granted, to fulfil some secret engagement with that crown: four-and-twenty thousand pounds were given for burning merchant-ships arrived from infected places, though the goods, which ought to have been destroyed for the public safety, were afterwards privately sold: a sum of five hundred thousand pounds was demanded, and granted, for paying the debts of the civil-list; and his Majesty declared, by message, he was resolved to retrench his expenses for the future. Notwithstanding this resolution, in less than four years, a new demand of the like sum was made and granted, to discharge new incumbrances: the Spanish ships of war which Admiral Byng took in the Mediterranean were sold for a considerable sum of money: one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds were granted in the last session, to be secretly disposed of for the public utility; and there was still a debt in the civil government, amounting to above six hundred thousand pounds. He took notice, that this amazing extravagance happened under the conduct of persons pretending to surpass all their predecessors in the knowledge and care of the public revenue: that as none of these sums had been accounted for, they were, in all probability, employed in services not fit to be owned. He said, he heartily wished that time, the great discoverer of hidden

truths, and concealed iniquities, might produce a list of all such as had been perverted from their public duty by private pensions; who had been the hired slaves and the corrupt instruments of a profuse and vain-glorious administration. He proposed, that, instead of granting an addition to the civil-list, they should restrict that revenue to a certain sum, by concluding the question with these words, "in like manner as they were granted and continued to his late Majesty, so as to make up the clear yearly sum of seven hundred thousand pounds." To these particulars, which were indeed unanswerable, no reply was made. Even this mark of decency was laid aside, as idle and superfluous. The House agreed to the motion; and a bill was brought in for the better support of his Majesty's household. The Commons having received a message from the King, desiring they would make further provision for the Queen his consort, resolved, That in case she should survive his Majesty, the sum of one hundred thousand pounds should be settled upon her for life, charged upon the revenues of the civil-list, together with his Majesty's palace of Somerset-House, and Richmond Old Park. A bill was formed on this resolution, which, as well as the other, passed both Houses: and received the royal assent on the seventeenth day of July, when the King, in a speech to both Houses, expressed his satisfaction with their conduct; and congratulated them upon the wealth and glory of the nation, by which they had acquired such weight in holding the balance of Europe. Then

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the Lord-Chancellor prorogued the parliament to the twenty-ninth day of August; but on the seventh of that month a proclamation was issued for dissolving this, and convoking another.

§ IV. In the interim some changes were made in different departments of civil economy. Lord Viscount Torrington was placed at the head of the Admiralty: the Earl of Westmorland was appointed first lord-commissioner of trade and plantations. Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, a nobleman remarkable for his wit, eloquence, and polished manners, was nominated ambassador to the Hague. The privy-council being dissolved, another was appointed of the members then present. The Duke of Devonshire was dignified with the place of president; and the Duke of St. Alban's was appointed master of the horse. On the eleventh day of October the coronation of the King and Queen was performed at Westminster-Abbey, with the usual solemnity¹. By this time the courts of France and Spain were perfectly reconciled: all Europe was freed from the calamities of war; and the peace of Great-Britain suffered no

¹ King George II. ascended the throne in the forty-fourth year of his age. On the second day of September, 1705, he espoused the Princess Wilhelmina Charlotte Caroline, daughter to John Frederic Marquis of Brandenburg-Anspach, by whom he had two sons, Frederic Louis Prince of Wales, born at Hanover, on the thirty-first day of January, 1707, and William Augustus, born at London, on the fifteenth day of April, 1721. She had likewise born four princesses, namely, Anne, Amelia, Carolina, Mary, and was afterwards delivered of Louisa, married in the sequel to the King of Denmark.

interruption, except from some transient tumults among the tanners of Cornwall, who, being provoked by a scarcity of corn, rose in arms, and plundered the granaries of that county.

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§ V. The elections in England and Scotland for the parliament having succeeded on the new system, according to the wishes of the ministry, the two Houses met on the twenty-third day of January, when the Commons unanimously chose for their Speaker Arthur Onslow, Esquire, knight of the shire for Surrey, a gentleman of extensive knowledge, worth, and probity; grave, eloquent, venerable, and every way qualified for the discharge of that honorable and important office. The King, in his speech to this new parliament, declared, that, by the last advices from abroad, he had reason to hope the difficulties which had hitherto retarded the execution of the preliminaries, and the opening of the congress, would soon be entirely removed: in the mean time, he represented the absolute necessity of continuing the preparations which had hitherto secured the nation, and prevented an open rupture in Europe. He promised, that his first care should be to reduce from time to time the expense of the public, as often, and as soon as the interest and safety of his people would permit such reduction. He expressed an earnest desire of seeing the foundation laid of an effectual scheme for the increase and encouragement of seamen in general, that they might be invited rather than compelled into the service of their country. Finally, he recommended unanimity, zeal, and dispatch of the public business. Those

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speeches, penned by the minister, were composed with a view to sooth the minds of the people into an immediate concurrence with the measures of the government; but without any intention of performing those promises of economy, reformation, and national advantage. The two Houses seemed to vie with each other in expressions of applause and affection to his Majesty. The Lords, in their address, hailed him as the best of kings, and true father of his country. The Commons expressed the warmest sense of gratitude for the blessings they enjoyed in his reign, though it was not yet eight months old. They approved of all his transactions; promised to support him in all his undertakings; and declared they would chearfully grant whatever supplies should be wanted for the public service. Having considered the estimates which were laid before them by order of his Majesty, they voted two-and-twenty thousand nine hundred and fifty-five men for guards and garrisons; and fifteen thousand seamen for the service of the ensuing year. They granted two hundred and thirty thousand nine hundred and twenty-three pounds, for the maintenance of twelve thousand Hessian troops; a subsidy of fifty thousand pounds to the King of Sweden; and half that sum to the Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel². The expense of the year amounted to four millions,

² Nothing could be a greater burlesque upon negociation than this treaty of alliance concluded with the petty Duke of Wolfenbuttel, who very gravely guarantees to his Britannic Majesty the possession of his three kingdoms, and obliges himself to supply his Majesty with five thousand men, in consideration of an annual subsidy of five-and-twenty thousand pounds for four years.

raised by a land-tax of three shillings in the pound, a malt-tax, and by borrowing of the Bank one million seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds; for which annuities to the amount of seventy thousand pounds, to be raised by duties on coals imported into the city of London, were granted to that corporation.

§ VI. All these sums, however, were not granted without question. The number of land-forces occasioned a debate; and the Hessian auxiliaries were not allowed without dispute and opposition. When they deliberated on the loan of the Bank, Mr. W. Pulteney observed, that the shifting of funds was but perpetuating taxes, and putting off the evil day: that notwithstanding the great merit which some persons had built on the sinking fund, it appeared that the national debt had been increased since the setting up that pompous project. Some warm altercation passed between him and Sir Robert Walpole on this subject. The lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London presented a petition, setting forth, that the duties already laid upon coals and culm, imported into London, affected the trade of that city only; that the inequality of the burden was a great discouragement to their manufactures, and a hardship upon all the trading inhabitants. The petition was rejected, and the tax imposed. The House having addressed the King for a particular and distinct account of the distribution of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, charged to have been issued for securing the trade and navigation of the kingdom, and preserving and restoring the peace of Europe, he declined granting their

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 11. money had been issued and disbursed by his late Majesty, and the remainder by himself, for carrying on the same necessary services, which required the greatest secrecy. Such a message in the reign of King William would have raised a dangerous flame in the House of Commons. Mr. W. Pulteney inveighed against such a vague and general way of accounting for the public money, as tending to render parliaments altogether insignificant, to cover embezzlements, and to screen corrupt and rapacious ministers. The Commons having taken into consideration the state of the national debt, examined the accounts, and interrogated the proper officers. A motion was made by a court member, that it appeared the monies already issued and applied towards discharging the national debts, together with a sum to be issued at Lady-day, amounted to six millions six hundred forty-eight thousand seven hundred and sixty-two pounds, five shillings, one penny, one farthing. In vain did the leaders of the opposition expose the fallacious tendency of this motion. In vain did they demonstrate the fraudulent artifice used in drawing up the accounts: the motion was carried; and several resolutions were taken on the state of the national debts. In the particular account of these debts, upon which the House resolved to form a representation to his Majesty, an article of three hundred thousand pounds relating to the duty upon wrought plate was totally omitted. This extraordinary omission being discovered, gave rise to a very warm debate, and to very severe reflections

against those who superintended the public accounts. This error being rectified, a committee appointed for the purpose drew up the representation, containing a particular detail of the national debts discharged and incurred since the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, with a state of the sinking fund and of the public credit. The draft being approved by the House, was presented to the King, who received it graciously. He took this opportunity of saying, that the provision made for gradually discharging the national debt was now become so certain and considerable, that nothing but some unforeseen event could alter or diminish it: a circumstance that afforded the fairest prospect of seeing the old debts discharged, without any necessity of incurring new incumbrances.

§ VII. This answer, fraught with many other expressions of fatherly tenderness for his people, paved the way for a message to the House, demanding a vote of credit to fulfil certain engagements entered into, and concerted with the advice and concurrence of the last parliament, for securing the trade and navigation of the kingdom, and for restoring and preserving the peace of Europe. Though a debate ensued upon this message, the majority resolved that an address should be presented to his Majesty, declaring the duty and fidelity of the Commons, their entire confidence in his royal care and goodness, and their readiness to enable his Majesty to fulfil his engagements. A vote of credit passed accordingly. During this session, the peers were chiefly employed in examining copies of several treaties and alliances

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which the King submitted to their perusal: they likewise prepared a bill for amending the statute of limitation, which, however, did not pass into a law: they considered the state of the national debt; a subject fruitful of debates: they passed the mutiny-bill, and those that were sent up from the Commons, touching the supplies; together with an act, obliging ships arriving from infected places to perform quarantine; and some others of a more private nature. These bills having received the royal assent, the King closed the session on the twenty-eighth day of May, when he thanked the Commons for the effectual supplies they had raised, and in particular, for having empowered him to borrow five hundred thousand pounds for the discharge of wages due to the seamen employed in the navy.

§ VIII. England was at this period quite barren of remarkable events. The King's uncle, Ernest Augustus, Prince of Brunswick, Duke of York, and Bishop of Osnabruck, died on the third day of August, and was succeeded in the bishopric by the Elector of Cologne, according to the pactum by which Osnabruck is alternately possessed by the house of Brunswick and that Elector. In the beginning of December, his Majesty's eldest son Prince Frederic arrived in England from Hanover, where he had hitherto resided, was introduced into the privy-council, and created Prince of Wales. Signior Como, resident from the Duke of Parma, was ordered to quit the kingdom, because his master paid to the Pretender the honors due to the King of Great-Britain. The congress opened at Soissons,

for determining all disputes among the powers of Europe, proved ineffectual. Such difficulties occurred in settling and reconciling so many different pretensions and interests, that the contracting parties in the alliance of Hanover proposed a provisional treaty, concerning which no definitive answer was given as yet by the courts of Vienna and Madrid. The fate of Europe, therefore, continued in suspense: the English fleet lay inactive and rotting in the West-Indies: the sailors perished miserably, without daring to avenge their country's wrongs; while the Spanish cruizers committed depredations with impunity on the commerce of Great-Britain. The court of Spain, at this juncture, seemed cold and indifferent with regard to a pacification with England. It had renewed a good understanding with France, and now strengthened its interest by a double alliance of marriage with the royal family of Portugal. The infanta of this house was betrothed to the Prince of Asturias: while the Spanish Infanta, formerly affianced to the French King, was now matched with the Prince of Brasil, eldest son of his Portuguese Majesty. In the month of January, the two courts met in a wooden house built over the little river Coya, that separates the two kingdoms, and there the princesses were exchanged.

§ IX. The parliament of Great-Britain meeting according to their last prorogation on the twenty-first day of January, the King in his speech communicated the nature of the negociation at the congress. He demanded such supplies as might enable him to act vigorously in concert with his

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allies, provided his endeavours to establish an advantageous peace should miscarry; and he hinted, that the dilatory conduct of the courts of Vienna and Madrid proceeded in a great measure from the hopes that were given, of creating discontents and divisions among the subjects of Great-Britain. This suggestion was a ministerial artifice to inflame the zeal and resentment of the nation, and intimidate the members in the opposition. Accordingly the hint was pursued, and in the addresses from both Houses, that could not fail of being agreeable, considering the manner in which they were dictated, particular notice was taken of this article: both Peers and Commons expressed their detestation and abhorrence of those, who, by such base and unnatural artifices, suggested the means of distressing their country, and clamored at the inconveniencies which they themselves had occasioned. In these addresses, likewise, the parliament congratulated his Majesty on the arrival of the Prince of Wales in his British dominions; and the Commons sent a particular compliment to his royal highness on that occasion. The estimates having been examined in the usual form, the House voted fifteen thousand seamen for the ensuing year; but the motion for continuing the same number of land-forces which had been allowed in the preceding year, was not carried without dispute. All the arguments against a standing army in time of peace, as inconsistent with the British constitution, and dangerous to the liberties of the people, were repeated with great vivacity by
Mr.

Mr. Shippen and Mr. W. Pulteney. These, however, were answered, and represented as absurd, by Mr. Horatio Walpole and Mr. D. two staunch adherents of the minister. The first had, in despite of nature, been employed in different negotiations, he was blunt, awkward, and slovenly: an orator without eloquence, an ambassador without dignity, and a plenipotentiary without address. The other had natural parts and acquired knowledge; spoke with confidence; and in dispute was vain, sarcastic, petulant, and verbose.

§ X. The subsidies to Sweden, Hesse-Cassel, and Wolfenbuttel were continued, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr. Lutwyche, and Mr. Pulteney; which last observed, that as the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, usually maintained a certain number of troops in their pay, it was but reasonable that Great-Britain should defray no more than the expense of the additional forces which those powers had raised, in consequence of their conventions with the King of England. Sir Robert Walpole perceiving that this remark made an impression on the House, thought it necessary to vindicate his measure: he expatiated upon the wisdom of the late King, in concluding the Hanover alliance. He affirmed that the convention with Hesse-Cassel had prevented a war in the empire, for which the court of Vienna had made great preparations: that the Emperor had not only augmented his own forces by the help of Spanish subsidies, but also retained the troops of three electors; and if he

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had not been over-awed by the Hessians, would certainly have rejected the preliminaries, and all other advances towards a pacification: that, therefore, they ought not to grudge an expense which had already proved so beneficial to the tranquillity of Europe. Sir Joseph Jekyll replied, that whatever gloss might be put upon such measures, they were repugnant to the maxims by which England in former times had steered and squared its conduct with relation to its interest abroad: that the navy was the natural strength of Great-Britain — its best defence and security: but if, in order to avoid a war they should be so free-hearted as to buy and maintain the forces of foreign princes, they were never like to see an end of such extravagant expenses. This gentleman, who exercised the office of master of the Rolls, had approved himself a zealous defender of Whig-principles, was an able lawyer, a sensible speaker, and a conscientious patriot. The supplies were raised by a continuation of the land-tax, the duties upon malt, cider, and perry, an additional imposition on unmalted corn used in distilling, and by sale of annuities to the Bank not exceeding fifty thousand pounds per annum.

§ XI. Petitions were delivered to the House of Commons from the merchants of London, Liverpool, and Bristol, complaining of the interruptions they had suffered in their trade for several years, by the depredations of the Spaniards in the West-Indies. These being considered, the House ordered the lords of the Admiralty to produce the other memorials of the same kind which they had received, that they

might be laid before the congress at Soissons: then they addressed his Majesty for copies of all the letters and instructions which had been sent to Admiral Hosier, and those who succeeded him in the command of the West-India squadron. Mr. Oglethorpe having been informed of shocking cruelties and oppressions exercised by gaolers upon their prisoners, moved for an examination into these practices, and was chosen chairman of a committee appointed to inquire into the state of the gaols of the kingdom. They began with the Fleet-prison, which they visited in a body: there they found Sir William Rich, Baronet, loaded with irons, by order of Bambridge the warden, to whom he had given some slight cause of offence. They made a discovery of many inhuman barbarities, which had been committed by that ruffian, and detected the most iniquitous scenes of fraud, villany, and extortion. When the report was made by the committee, the House unanimously resolved, that Thomas Bambridge, acting warden of the Fleet, had wilfully permitted several debtors to escape; had been guilty of the most notorious breaches of trust, great extortions, and the highest crimes and misdemeanours in the execution of his office; that he had arbitrarily and unlawfully loaded with irons, put into dungeons, and destroyed prisoners for debt, under his charge, treating them in the most barbarous and cruel manner, in high violation and contempt of the laws of the kingdom. John Huggins, Esquire, who had been warden of the Fleet-prison, was subjected to a resolution of the same nature. The House presented an address to the King, desiring

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he would direct his attorney-general forthwith to prosecute these persons and their accomplices, who were committed prisoners to Newgate. A bill was brought in, disabling Bambridge to execute the office of warden; another for the better regulating the prison of the Fleet; and for more effectually preventing and punishing arbitrary and illegal practices of the warden of the said prison³.

§ XII. Other merchants complained by petition of the losses sustained by the Spaniards. The House, in a grand committee, deliberated on this subject, inquired into the particulars, examined evidence, and drew up an address to the King, desiring his Majesty would be graciously pleased to use his utmost endeavours for preventing such depredations; for procuring just and reasonable satisfaction; and for securing to his subjects the free exercise of commerce and navigation to and from the British colonies in America. The King assured them he would use his best endeavours to answer the desires and expectations of his people, in an affair of so much importance; and they, in another address, thanked him for his gracious answer. They did not, however, receive such a satisfactory reply to a former address, touching the sum of sixty thousand pounds that had been stated in the public account, without specification of the particular uses to which it was applied. His Majesty gave them to understand that

³ It afterwards appeared that some of the members of this inquest were actuated by other motives than those they professed; and the committee was suffered to sink into oblivion.

the money had been issued and disbursed for secret services; and that a distinct and particular account of the distribution of it could not be given without a manifest prejudice to the public. A bill was prepared for the more effectual preventing bribery and corruption in elections for members of parliament; and it passed through the House without opposition: but their attention was chiefly employed upon the Spanish depredations, which had raised a great clamor through the whole kingdom, and excited very warm disputes in parliament; for they were generally reputed the fruits of negligence, incapacity, or want of vigor in the ministers. The Commons having made further progress in the inquiry, and received fresh petitions from the merchants, passed some resolutions, in which the Spaniards were accused of having violated the treaties subsisting between the two crowns; and with having treated inhumanly the masters and crews of ships belonging to Great-Britain. They justified the instructions given to Admiral Hosier, to seize and detain the flota and galleons of Spain, until justice and satisfaction should be rendered to his Majesty and his allies; nay, even declared that such seizure would have been just, prudent, and necessary, tending to prevent an open rupture, and to preserve the peace and tranquillity of Europe. They again addressed the King to use his endeavours to procure satisfaction; and he promised to comply with their request.

§ XIII. Mr. Scroope, member for Bristol, moved for an address, entreating his Majesty to order an account of the produce of the civil-list-revenues

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for one year to be laid before the House. The address was presented, the account produced, and the House, in a grand committee, took this affair into consideration. The courtiers affirmed that they fell short of the eight hundred thousand pounds settled upon his Majesty; and Mr. Scroope proposed that the sum of one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds should be granted to the King, on account of those deficiencies and arrears. The motion was vigorously opposed by Mr. Pulteney and other members. They expressed their surprise that it should be made so late in the session, when no further demand of money could be reasonably expected; and they said it was the more extraordinary, because it appeared in the former session, from the examination of the accounts then before the House, that the revenues of the civil-list produced yearly a much greater sum than that for which they were given. Mr. Pulteney moved that the accounts and papers should be referred to the examination of a select committee, properly empowered to investigate the truth. The ministers opposed this motion; and the question being put, it passed in the negative. The majority voted the sum demanded; and in a bill for settling the price of imported corn, they inserted the resolution for granting to his Majesty the sum of one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds, on account of arrears due on the civil-list revenues.

§ XIV. The House of Lords having prepared a bill for the more effectual punishment of forgery, which was passed into a law, and ordered the judges to bring in another, on the report of a committee

appointed to consider the case of imprisoned debtors, at length deliberated upon the state of the nation, particularly the positive demand made by the court of Spain for the restitution of Gibraltar, grounded on a letter written by the late king to his Catholic Majesty. From a copy of the letter laid before the House, it plainly appeared that King George I. had consented to this restitution. A motion being made for a resolution, importing, that for the honor of his Majesty, and the preservation and security of the trade and commerce of the kingdom, effectual care should be taken in the present treaty that the King of Spain should renounce all claim and pretension to Gibraltar and Minorca, in plain and strong terms, a debate ensued, and the question being put, passed in the negative, though not without a protest. Then the majority resolved, that the House did entirely rely upon his Majesty, that he would, for maintaining the honor and securing the trade of this kingdom, take effectual care in the present treaty to preserve his undoubted right to Gibraltar and Minorca. When the House examined the papers relating to the Spanish depredations, many severe reflections were uttered against the conduct of the ministry; and a motion was made, to resolve that Hosier's expedition was an unreasonable burden on the nation: but this too was rejected, and occasioned another protest. Nor did the clause in the corn-bill, for granting one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds to his Majesty, pass through the House of Peers without warm opposition. Divers lords alledged, that, instead of a deficiency in the

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civil-list-revenues, there was a considerable surplus: that this was a new grant, and a new burden on the people: that the nation was loaded, not to complete, but to augment the sum designed for the civil-list; and this at a time when the public debts were increased, when the taxes were heavily felt in all parts of the country; when the foreign trade of Britain was incumbered and diminished; when her manufactures were decayed; her poor multiplied; and she was surrounded by many other national calamities. They observed, that if the produce of the civil-list revenue should not amount to the yearly sum of eight hundred thousand pounds, the deficiency must be made good to his Majesty by the public; whereas no provision was made, by which, if the produce of these revenues should exceed that sum, the surplus could accrue to the benefit of the public: that, by this precedent, not only real deficiencies were to be made good, but also supplies were to be given for arrears standing out at the end of every year, which should come on before the supplies could be granted, though the supply given to make good arrears in one year would certainly increase the surpluses in another: that the revenues of the civil-list were variable in their own nature; and even when there is a deficiency in the produce, there might be arrears in the receipt: these might be easily increased by the management of designing ministers, by private directions to receivers, and by artful methods of stating accounts. All these arguments, and other objections equally strong and plausible, against this unconscionable and

unparliamentary motion, served only to evince the triumph of the ministry over shame and sentiment, their contempt of public spirit, and their defiance of national reproach^{*}.

§ XV. The King had on the twenty-fourth day of March, given the royal assent to five bills; and on the fourteenth day of May the same sanction was given to thirty other bills, including an act, enabling the Queen to be regent in the kingdom during his Majesty's absence, without taking the oaths; and another for the relief of insolvent debtors. At the same time two-and-thirty private bills were passed: then the King expressed his approbation of the parliament, signified his intention to visit his German dominions, and ordered the Chancellor to prorogue both Houses. His Majesty having appointed the Queen regent of the realm, set out for Hanover, on the seventeenth day of May in order to remove a petty misunderstanding, which had happened between that electorate and the court of Berlin. Some Hanoverian subjects had been pressed or decoyed into the service of Prussia; and the regents of Hanover had seized certain Prussian officers, by way of reprisal. The whole united kingdom of Great-Britain at this juncture enjoyed uninterrupted repose; and commerce continued to increase, in spite of all restriction and

^{*} The peers that distinguished themselves in the opposition were Beaufort, Strafford, Craven, Foley, Lichfield, Scarisdale, Gower, Mountjoy, Plymouth, Bathurst, Northampton, Coventry, Oxford and Mortimer, Willoughby de Broke, Boyle, and Warrington.

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discouragement. The people of Ireland found themselves happy under the government of Lord Carteret; and their parliament, assembling in the month of September, approved themselves the fathers of their country. They established funds for the discharge of their national debt, and for maintaining the expense of government: they enacted wholesome laws for the encouragement of manufactures, trade, and agriculture; and they formed wise regulations in different branches of civil economy. Some time after this session, which was conducted with so much harmony and patriotism, Lord Carteret returned to England; and was succeeded by the Duke of Dorset in the government of that kingdom. In the month of May, Charles Lord Townshend resigned the seals, which were given to Colonel Stanhope now created Earl of Harrington; so that Sir R. W. now reigned without a rival. James Earl of Waldegrave was appointed ambassador to the court of France, which, about that time, was filled with joy by the birth of a dauphin.

§ XVI. In the month of September, Victor Amadeus, King of Sardinia, resigned his crown to his son Charles Emanuel, Prince of Piedmont. The father reserved to himself a revenue of one hundred thousand pistoles per annum, retired to the castle of Chamberry, and espoused the Countess Dowager of St. Sebastian, who declined the title of queen, but assumed that of Marchioness of Somerive. Though the congress at Soissons proved abortive, conferences were begun at Seville, between the plenipotentiaries of England, France, and Spain;

and a treaty was concluded on the ninth day of November, not only without the concurrence of the Emperor, but even contrary to his right, as established by the quadruple alliance. On this subject he communicated an imperial commissorial decree to the states of the empire assembled in the diet at Ratisbon, which was answered by the French minister de Chavigny. In October Peter II. Czar of Muscovy, and grand-son of Peter I. died in the fifteenth year of his age, at Moscow, and was succeeded on the Russian throne by the Princess Anne Ivanowna, second daughter of John Alexowitz, elder brother of the first Peter, and widow of Frederic William Duke of Courland. The following month was rendered remarkable by the death of Pope Benedict XIII. in whose room Cardinal Laurence Corsini was raised to the pontificate, and assumed the name of Clement XII.

§ XVII. The British parliament assembling on the thirteenth day of January, the King gave them to understand, that the peace of Europe was now established by the treaty of Seville, built upon the foundation of former treaties, and tending to render more effectual what the contracting powers in the quadruple alliance were before engaged to see performed. He assured them that all former conventions made with Spain in favor of the British trade and navigation were renewed and confirmed: that the free uninterrupted exercise of their commerce was restored: that the court of Spain had agreed to an ample restitution and reparation for unlawful seizures and depredations: that all rights,

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privileges, and possessions, belonging to him and his allies, were solemnly re-established, confirmed, and guaranteed, and that not one concession was made to the prejudice of his subjects. He told them he had given orders for reducing a great number of his landforces, and for laying up great part of the fleet; and observed that there would be a considerable saving in the expense of the current year. After both Houses had presented their addresses of thanks and congratulation to the King on the peace of Seville, the Lords took that treaty into consideration, and it did not pass inquiry without severe animadversion.

§ XVIII. The lords in the opposition excepted to the article by which the merchants of Great-Britain were obliged to make proof of their losses at the court of Spain. They said this stipulation was a hardship upon British subjects, and dishonorable to the nation: that few would care to undertake such a troublesome and expensive journey, especially as they had reason to apprehend their claims would be counterbalanced by the Spaniards; and, after all, they would have no more but the slender comfort of hoping to obtain that redress by commissaries which they had not been able to procure by plenipotentiaries. They thought it very extraordinary, that Great-Britain should be bound to ratify and guarantee whatever agreement should be made between the King of Spain and the Dukes of Parma and Tuscany, concerning the garrisons once established in their countries: that the English should be obliged to assist in effectuating the introduction of

fix thousand Spanish troops into the towns of Tuscany and Parma, without any specification of the methods to be taken, or the charge to be incurred in giving that assistance: that they should guarantee for ever, not only to Don Carlos, but even to all his successors, the possession of the estates of Tuscany and Parma; a stipulation which in all probability would involve Great-Britain in endless quarrels and disputes, about a country with which they had no concern. They affirmed that the treaty of Seville, instead of confirming other treaties, was contradictory to the quadruple alliance, particularly in the article of introducing Spanish troops into Tuscany and Parma, in the room of neutral forces stipulated by the former alliance; and agreeing that they should there remain until Don Carlos and his successors should be secure and exempt from all events. They complained that these alterations, from the tenor of the quadruple alliance were made without the concurrence of the Emperor, and even without inviting him to accede; an affront which might alienate his friendship from England, and hazard the loss of such an ancient, powerful, and faithful ally: they declared that throughout the whole treaty there seemed to be an artful omission of any express stipulation, to secure Great-Britain in her right to Gibraltar and Minorca. Such was the substance of the objections made to the peace: then Lord Bathurst moved for a resolution, that the agreement on the treaty of Seville, to secure the succession of Don Carlos to the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, with Spanish troops, was a manifest violation of

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the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, tending to involve the nation in a dangerous and expensive war, and to destroy the balance of power in Europe. The question was put, and the motion rejected. Such too was the fate of two other motions, to resolve that Great-Britain's right of sovereignty, dominion, possession, and claim to Gibraltar and Minorca, were not ascertained by the treaty of Seville and that the stipulations in that treaty for repairing the losses of the British merchants were insufficient and precarious. The majority, far from stigmatizing this transaction, resolved, that the treaty did contain all necessary stipulations for maintaining and securing the honor, dignity, rights, and possessions of the crown: that all due care was taken therein for the support of the trade of the kingdom, and for repairing the losses sustained by the British merchants. On these resolutions an address of approbation was founded: but, when a motion was made for an address to his Majesty, that he would order to be laid before the House a list of all pensions payable to the crown, it was immediately resolved in the negative. Divers contests of the same kind arose upon the mutiny-bill, the pension-bill, and the maintenance of the twelve thousand Hessians; but the ministry bore down all opposition, though their triumphs were clogged with vigorous protests, which did not fail to make impression upon the body of the people.

§ XIX. Nor was the success of the court-interest in the House of Commons altogether pure, and free from exception and dispute. When the charge of the

land-forces fell under the consideration of the Commons, and Mr. Henry Pelham, secretary at war, moved that the number of effective men for the land-service of the ensuing year should be fixed at seventeen thousand seven hundred and nine, Mr. Pulteney insisted upon its being reduced to twelve thousand. Mr. Shippen affirmed, that, Mr. Pelham's motion was a flat negative to the address for which he voted on the first day of the session, as it plainly implied a distrust of the validity of the late treaty, which he then assured the House would immediately produce all the blessings of an absolute peace; and deliver the kingdom from the apprehensions and inconveniencies of a war. He said the motion tended directly towards the establishment of an army in Great Britain, which he hoped would never be so far Germanized, as tamely to submit to a military government. He observed that the nation could have no occasion for all the troops that were demanded, considering the glorious scene of affairs which was now opened to all Europe. "They
 " are not necessary (said he to awe Spain into a firm ad-
 " herence to its own treaty; they are not necessary to
 " force the Emperor into an immediate accession; nor
 " are they in any sort necessary for the safety of his Ma-
 " jesty's person and government. Force and violence
 " are the resort of usurpers and tyrants only; because
 " they are, with good reason, distrustful of the
 " people whom they oppress; and because they
 " have no other security for the continuance of
 " their unlawful and unnatural dominion, than what
 " depends entirely on the strength of their armies."
 The motion, however, was carried in the affirmative.

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§ XX. Another warm debate was excited by a bill which the courtiers brought in, to prevent any subjects of Great-Britain from advancing sums of money to foreign princes or states, without having obtained licence from his Majesty, under his privy-seal, or some greater authority. The minister pretended that this law was proposed to disable the Emperor, who wanted to borrow a great sum of the English merchants, for raising and maintaining troops to disturb the tranquillity of Europe. The bill contained a clause, empowering the King to prohibit by proclamation all such loans of money, jewels, or bullion: the Attorney-General was empowered to compel, by English bill, in the court of Exchequer, the effectual discovery, on oath, of any such loans; and it was enacted, that in default of an answer to any such bill the court should decree a limited sum against the person refusing to answer. M. Daniel Pulteney, a gentleman of uncommon talents and ability, and particularly acquainted with every branch of commerce, argued strenuously against this bill, as a restraint upon trade that would render Holland the market of Europe, and the mart of money to the nations of the continent. He said, that this general prohibition, extending to all princes, states, or potentates, the English were totally disabled from assisting their best allies: that among others the King of Portugal frequently borrowed money of the English merchants residing within his dominions: that while the licensing power remained in the crown, the licences would be issued through the hands of the minister, who by this new trade

might

might gain twenty, thirty, or forty thousand a-year: that the bill would render the Exchequer a court of inquisition; and that whilst it restrained our merchants from assisting the princes and powers of Europe, it permitted our stock-jobbers to trade in their funds without interruption. Other arguments of equal weight were enforced by Mr. Barnard, a merchant of London, who perfectly understood trade in all its branches, spoke with judgment and precision, and upon all occasions steadily adhered to the interests and liberties of his country. After having explained his reasons, he declared he should never consent to a bill which he deemed a violation of our fundamental laws, a breach of our dearest liberties, and a very terrible hardship on mankind. Sir William Wyndham distinguished himself on the same side of the question: the bill was vindicated by Sir Robert Walpole, Mr. Pelham, and Sir Philip Yorke, attorney-general; and being supported by the whole weight of ministerial influence, not only passed through the House, but was afterwards enacted into a law.

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§ XXI. The subsidies were continued to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel, in spite of all that could be urged against these extraneous incumbrances; and the supply for the ensuing year was granted according to the estimates which the ministry thought proper to produce, amounting to about two millions two hundred and eighty thousand pounds. It must be owned, however, for the credit of this session, that the House appropriated one million of the surpluses arising from

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the sinking fund towards the discharge of the national debt: and by another act extinguished the duties upon salt, by which expedient the subject was eased of a heavy burden, not only in being freed from the duty, but also from a considerable charge of salaries given to a great number of officers employed to collect this imposition. They likewise encouraged the colony of Carolina with an act, allowing the planters and traders of that province to export rice directly to any part of Europe southward of Cape Finistere; and they permitted salt from Europe to be imported into the colony of New-York. The term of the exclusive trade granted by act of parliament to the East-India company drawing towards a period, many considerable merchants and others made application for being incorporated and vested with the privilege of trading to those countries, proposing to lay that branch of trade open to all the subjects of Great-Britain, on certain conditions. In consideration of an act of parliament for this purpose, they offered to advance three millions two hundred thousand pounds, for redeeming the fund and trade of the present East-India company. This proposal was rejected; and the exclusive privilege vested in the company was, by act of parliament, protracted to the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, upon the following conditions: That they should pay into the Exchequer the sum of two hundred thousand pounds towards the supplies of the year, without interest or addition to their capital stock: That the annuity or yearly fund of one hundred and sixty thousand pounds, payable

to them from the public, should be reduced to one hundred and twenty-eight thousand: That after the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, their right to the exclusive trade should be liable to be taken away by parliament, on three years notice, and repayment of their capital.

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§ XXII. On the fifteenth day of May the King went to the House of Peers, and closed the session. In his speech he expressed his joy, that, notwithstanding all the clamors which were raised, the parliament had approved of those matters which fell under their consideration; a circumstance which, he said, could not fail to inspire all mankind with a just detestation of those incendiaries, who, by scandalous libels, labored to alienate the affections of his people; to fill their minds with groundless jealousies and unjust complaints, in dishonor of him and his government, and in defiance of the sense of both Houses of parliament'. The Emperor was so much incensed at the insult offered to him in the treaty of Seville, with respect to the garrisons of Tuscany and Parma, that he prohibited the

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' In the course of this session the Commons passed a bill for making more effectual the laws in being, for disabling persons from being chosen members of parliament who enjoyed any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years, or any offices holden in trust for them, by obliging all persons hereafter to be chosen to serve for the commons in parliament, to take the oath therein mentioned. In all probability this bill would not have made its way through the House of Commons, had not the minister been well assured it would stick with the Upper-House, where it was rejected at the second reading, though not without violent opposition.

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subjects of Great-Britain from trading in his dominions: he began to make preparations for war, and actually detached bodies of troops to Italy, with such dispatch as had been very seldom exerted by the house of Austria. Yet the article of which he complained was not so much a real injury as an affront put upon the head of the empire; for the eventual succession to those Italian duchies had been secured to the Infant, Don Carlos, by the quadruple alliance; and all that the Emperor required, was, that this prince should receive the investiture of them as fiefs of the empire.

§ XXIII. In Great-Britain, this year was not distinguished by any transaction of great moment. Seven chiefs of the Cherokee nations of Indians in America were brought to England by Sir Alexander Cumin. Being introduced to the King, they laid their crown and regalia at his feet; and by an authentic deed acknowledged themselves subjects to his dominion, in the name of all their compatriots, who had vested them with full powers for this purpose. They were amazed and confounded at the riches and magnificence of the British court: they compared the King and Queen to the Sun and Moon, the princes to the stars of heaven, and themselves to nothing. They gave their assent in the most solemn manner to articles of friendship and commerce, proposed by the lords commissioners for trade and plantations; and being loaded with presents of necessaries, arms, and ammunition, were reconveyed to their own country, which borders on the province of South-Carolina. In the month of

September a surprising revolution was effected at Constantinople, without bloodshed or confusion. A few mean Janissaries displayed a flag in the streets, exclaiming that all true Mussulmen ought to follow them, and assist in reforming the government. They soon increased to the number of one hundred thousand, marched to the Seraglio, and demanded the Grand Vizier, the Kiaja, and Capitan Pacha. These unhappy ministers were immediately strangled. Their bodies being delivered to the insurgents, were dragged through the streets; and afterwards thrown to the dogs to be devoured. Not contented with this sacrifice, the revolters deposed the Grand Signor Achmet, who was confined to the same prison from whence they brought his nephew Machmut, and raised this last to the throne, after he had lived seven-and-twenty years in confinement.

§ XXIV. England was at this period infested with robbers, assassins, and incendiaries, the natural consequences of degeneracy, corruption, and the want of police in the interior government of the kingdom. This defect, in a great measure, arose from an absurd notion, that laws necessary to prevent those acts of cruelty, violence, and rapine, would be incompatible with the liberty of British subjects; a notion that confounds all distinctions between liberty and brutal licentiousness, as if that freedom was desirable, in the enjoyment of which people find no security for their lives or effects. The peculiar depravity of the times was visible even in the conduct of those who preyed upon the commonwealth. Thieves and robbers were now become more desperate

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and savage than ever they had appeared since mankind was civilized. In the exercise of their rapine, they wounded, maimed, and even murdered the unhappy sufferers, through a wantonness of barbarity. They circulated letters, demanding sums of money from certain individuals, on pain of reducing their houses to ashes, and their families to ruin; and even set fire to the house of a rich merchant in Bristol, who had refused to comply with their demand. The same species of villany was practised in different parts of the kingdom; so that the government was obliged to interpose, and offer a considerable reward for discovering the ruffians concerned in such execrable designs.

§ XXV. In the speech with which the King opened the session of parliament on the twenty-first day of January, he told them, that the present critical conjuncture seemed in a very particular manner to deserve their attention: that as the transactions then depending in the several courts of Europe were upon the point of being determined, the great event of peace or war might be very much affected by their first resolutions, which were expected by different powers with great impatience. He said, the continuance of that zeal and vigor with which they had hitherto supported him and his engagements must at this time be of the greatest weight and importance, both with regard to his allies, and to those who might be disposed, before the season of action, to prevent by an accommodation the fatal consequences of a general rupture. The former scene was repeated. Both Houses, in their addresses, promised

to support his Majesty in all his engagements: yet the members in the opposition demonstrated the absurdity of promising to fulfil engagements, before they could possibly know whether or not they were for the service of Great-Britain. Another bill was brought into the House of Commons, to prevent pensioners from sitting as members of parliament; and, after a third reading, carried up to the Lords for their concurrence. When the supply fell under consideration, the debates were renewed upon the subsidies to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and the Duke of Wolfenbuttel, which, however, were continued; and every article was granted according to the estimates given in for the expense of the ensuing year. Two petitions being presented to the Commons, representing the delays of justice, occasioned by the use of the Latin tongue in proceedings at law, a bill was brought in for changing this practice, and enacting, That all those processes and pleadings should be entered in the English language. Though one would imagine that very little could be advanced against such a regulation, the bill met with warm opposition, on pretence that it would render useless the ancient records which were written in that language, and introduce confusion and delay of justice, by altering the established form and method of pleading: in spite of these objections, it passed through both Houses, and obtained the royal assent. A great number of merchants from different parts of the kingdom having repeated their complaints of depredations and cruelties committed by the Spaniards in the West-Indies, their petitions were

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referred to the consideration of a grand committee. Their complaints upon examination appeared to be well founded. The House presented an address to the King, desiring his Majesty would be graciously pleased to continue his endeavour to prevent such depredations for the future; to procure full satisfaction for the damages already sustained; and to secure to the British subjects the full and uninterrupted exercise of their trade and navigation to and from the British colonies in America. The bill against pensions produced a warm debate in the House of Lords, where it was violently opposed by the Dukes of Newcastle and Argyle, the Earl of Ilay, and Dr. Sherlock, Bishop of Bangor. This prelate, in a remarkable speech, represented it as a scheme to enlarge the power of the House of Commons, and to break the balance between the powers essential to the constitution, so as sooner or later to prove the ruin of the whole. The great barrier provided against bribery and corruption by this bill consisted in an oath to be imposed on all members of the Lower House, by which they must have solemnly sworn and declared, that they had not directly, nor indirectly, any pension during pleasure; or for any number of years, or any office in part, or in the whole, held for them, or for their benefit, by any persons whatsoever; and that they would not accept any such pensions or offices, without signifying the same to the House within fourteen days after they should be received or accepted. The bill was vindicated as just and necessary by the Earls of Winchelsea and Strafford, Lord Bathurst, and Lord Carteret,

who had by this time joined as an auxiliary in the opposition⁶.

§ XXVI. The House of Peers proceeded to consider the state of the national debt: they read a bill for the free importation of wool from Ireland into England, which was fiercely opposed, and laid aside, contrary to all the rules of sound policy. They passed the bill for carrying on proceedings at law in the English language; and a fruitless motion was made by Lord Bathurst for an address, to desire his Majesty would give directions for discharging the Hessian troops that were in the pay of Great-Britain. On the seventh day of May the parliament was prorogued, after the King had given them to understand, that all apprehensions of war were now happily removed, by a treaty signed at Vienna between him and the Emperor. He said it was communicated to the courts of France and Spain, as parties to the

⁶ Nothing was heard within doors in parliament, but farcastic repartee and violent declamation between the two parties, who did not confine their altercation to these debates, but took the field against each other in periodical papers, and occasional pamphlets. The paper called the Craftsman had already risen into high reputation all over England for the wit, humor, and solid reasoning it contained. Some of the best writers in the opposition, including Lord Bolingbroke and Mr. P. made use of this vehicle to convey their animadversions upon the minister, who, on his side, employed the most wretched scribblers to defend his conduct. It was in consequence of two political pamphlets, written in opposition to each other, by Lord Hervey and Mr. P. and some recrimination they produced in the House of Commons, that his lordship challenged the other to single combat, and had well nigh lost his life in the duel, which was fought in Hyde-Park.

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treaty of Seville, the execution of which it principally regarded; and that it was likewise submitted to the consideration of the States - General. He observed, that the conditions and engagements into which he had entered on this occasion were agreeable to that necessary concern which the British nation must always have for the security and preservation of the balance of power in Europe: and that this happy turn, duly improved with a just regard to former alliances, yielded a favorable prospect of seeing the public tranquillity re-established.

§ XXVII. In the month of January the Duke of Parma died, after having made a will, in which he declared his duchess was three months advanced in her pregnancy; entreating the allied powers of Europe to have compassion upon his people, and defer the execution of their projects until his consort should be delivered. In case the child should be still born, or die after the birth, he bequeathed his dominions and allodial estates to the Infant Don Carlos of Spain; and appointed five regents to govern the duchy. Notwithstanding this disposition, a body of Imperial troops immediately took possession of Parma and Placentia, under the command of General Stampa, who declared they should conduct themselves with all possible regularity and moderation, and leave the administration entirely to the regents whom the Duke had appointed. They publicly proclaimed in the market - place, that they took possession of these duchies for the Infant, Don Carlos: and that if the Duchess Dowager should not be

delivered of a prince, the said Infant might receive the investiture from the Emperor whenever he would, provided he should come without an army. Though these steps seemed to threaten an immediate war, the King of Great-Britain and the States-General interposed their mediation so effectually with the court of Vienna, that the Emperor desisted from the prosecution of his design; and on the sixteenth day of March concluded at Vienna a treaty with his Britannic Majesty, by which he consented to withdraw his troops from Parma and Placentia. He agreed, That the King of Spain might take possession of these places in favor of his son Don Carlos, according to the treaty of Seville. He likewise agreed, That the Ostend company which had given such umbrage to the maritime powers, should be totally dissolved, on condition that the contracting powers concerned in the treaty of Seville should guarantee the pragmatic sanction, or succession of the Austrian hereditary dominions to the heirs female of the Emperor, in case he should die without male issue. The Dutch minister residing at the Imperial court did not subscribe this treaty, because, by the maxims received in that republic, and the nature of her government, he could not be vested with full powers so soon as it would have been necessary: nevertheless, the States-General were, by a separate article, expressly named as a principal contracting party.

§ XXVIII. On the twenty-second day of July a new treaty was signed at Vienna between the Emperor and Kings of Great-Britain and Spain, tending

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to confirm the former. In August a treaty of union and defensive alliance between the electorates of Saxony and Hanover was executed at Dresden. The court of Spain expressing some doubts with regard to the pregnancy of the Duchess of Parma, she underwent a formal examination by five midwives of different nations, in presence of the older Duchess Dowager, several ladies of quality, three physicians, and a surgeon; and was declared with child: nevertheless, after having kept all Europe in suspense for six months, she owned she had been deceived; and General Stampa, with the Imperial forces, took formal possession of the duchies of Parma and Placentia. Spain and the Great Duke of Tuscany having acceded to the last treaty of Vienna, the crown of Great-Britain engaged to equip an armament that should convoy Don Carlos to his new dominions. Accordingly Sir Charles Wager sailed with a strong squadron from Portsmouth on the twenty-sixth day of August; and in September arrived at Barcelona, where being joined by the Spanish fleet and transports, they sailed together to Leghorn; from whence the Admiral returned to England. Don Carlos passed through part of France, and embarking at Antibes on board of the Spanish galleys, arrived at Leghorn in December. Then the Imperial General withdrew his forces into the Milanese; and the Infant took possession of his new territories.

§ XXIX. During these transactions France was distracted by religious disputes, occasioned by the bull *unigenitus* thundered against the doctrines of Jansenius; a bull which had produced a schism in the

Gallican church, and well nigh involved that country in civil war and confusion. It was opposed by the parliaments and lay-tribunals of the kingdom; but many bishops, and the Jesuits in general, were its most strenuous assertors. All the artifices of priestcraft were practised on both sides, to inflame the enthusiasm, and manage the superstition of the people. Pretended miracles were wrought at the tomb of Abbé Paris, who had died without accepting the bull, consequently was declared damned by the abettors of that constitution. On the other hand, the Jesuits exerted all their abilities and industry in preaching against the Jansenists; in establishing an opinion of their superior sanctity; and inspiring a spirit of quietism among their votaries, who were transported into the delirium of possession, illumination, and supernatural converse. These arts were often used for the most infamous purposes. Female enthusiasts were wrought up to such a violence of agitations, that nature fainted under the struggle, and the pseudo-saint seized this opportunity of violating the chastity of his penitent. Such was said to be the case of Mademoiselle la Cadiere, a young gentlewoman of Toulon, abused in this manner by the lust and villany of Pere Girard, a noted Jesuit, who underwent a trial before the parliament of Aix, and very narrowly escaped the stake.

§ XXX. The parliament of Great-Britain meeting on the thirteenth day of January, the King in his speech declared, that the general tranquillity of Europe was restored and established by the last treaty of Vienna: that Don Carlos was actually possessed

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of Parma and Placentia: that six thousand Spaniards were quietly admitted and quartered in the duchy of Tuscany, to secure, by the express consent and agreement of the Great-Duke, the reversion of his dominions; and that a family-convention was made between the courts of Spain and Tuscany, for preserving mutual peace and friendship in the two houses. He told the Commons, that the estimates for the service of the current year would be considerably less than those of former years. He recommended unanimity: he observed that this government had no security but what was equally conducive to their happiness, and to the protection of his people: that their prosperity had no foundation but in the defence and support of his government. "Our safety (said he) is mutual, and our interests are inseparable." The opposition to the court-measures appears to have been uncommonly spirited during the course of this session. The minister's motions were attacked with all the artillery of elocution. His principal emissaries were obliged to talk their faculties to their full exertion, to puzzle and perplex where they could not demonstrate and convince, to misrepresent what they could not vindicate, and elude the arguments which they could not refute. In the House of Commons Lord Hervey, lately appointed vice-chamberlain of his Majesty's household, made a motion for an address of thanks, in which they should declare their entire approbation of the King's conduct, acknowledge the blessings they enjoyed under his government, express their confidence in the wisdom of his councils; and

declare their readiness to grant the necessary supplies. **C H A P.**
This member, son to the Earl of Bristol, was a **IV.**
nobleman of some parts, which, however, were **1731.**
more, specious than solid. He condescended to act
as a subaltern to the minister, and approved himself
extremely active in forwarding all his designs,
whether as a secret emissary or public orator; in
which last capacity he appears to have been pert,
frivolous, and frothy. His motion was seconded by
Mr. Clutterbuck, and opposed by Sir Wilfred Law-
son, Mr. Shippen, Mr. W. Pulteney, Sir William
Wyndham, and Mr. Oglethorpe. They did not
argue against a general address of thanks; but ex-
posed the absurdity and bad tendency of expres-
sions which implied a blind approbation of all the
measures of the ministry. Sir Wilfred Lawson ob-
served, that notwithstanding the great things we
had done for the crown of Spain, and the favors we
had procured for the royal family of that kingdom,
little or no satisfaction had as yet been received for
the injuries our merchants had sustained from that
nation. Mr. Pulteney took notice, that the nation,
by becoming guarantee to the pragmatic sanction,
laid itself under an obligation to assist the Austrian
family when attacked by any potentate whatever,
except the Grand Signor: that they might be at-
tacked when it would be much against the in-
terest of the kingdom to engage itself in a war
upon any foreign account: that it might one day
be for the interest of the nation to join against them,
in order to preserve the balance of Europe, the
establishing of which had already cost England such

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immense sums of money. He insisted upon the absurdity of concluding such a number of inconsistent treaties; and concluded with saying, that if affairs abroad were now happily established, the ministry which conducted them might be compared to a pilot, who, though there was a clear, safe, and straight channel into port, yet took it in his head to carry the ship a great way about, through sands, rocks, and shallows; who, after having lost a great number of seamen, destroyed a great deal of tackle and rigging, and subjected the owners to an enormous expense, at last by chance hits the port, and triumphs in his good conduct. Sir William Wyndham spoke to the same purpose. Mr. Oglethorpe, a gentleman of unblemished character, brave, generous, and humane, affirmed that many other things related more nearly to the honor and interest of the nation than did the guarantee of the pragmatic sanction. He said he wished to have heard that the new works at Dunkirk had been entirely rased and destroyed: that the nation had received full and complete satisfaction for the depredations committed by the natives of Spain: that more care was taken in disciplining the militia, on whose valor the nation must chiefly depend in case of an invasion; and that some regard had been shown to the oppressed protestants in Germany. He expressed his satisfaction to find that the English were not so closely united to France as formerly; for he had generally observed, that when two dogs were in a leash together, the stronger generally ran away with the

the weaker; and this, he was afraid, had been the case between France and Great-Britain. The motion was vigorously defended by Mr. Pelham, paymaster of the forces, and brother to the Duke of Newcastle, a man whose greatest fault was his being concerned in supporting the measures of a corrupt ministry. In other respects he was liberal, candid, benevolent, and even attached to the interest of his country, though egregiously mistaken in his notions of government. On this occasion he asserted that it was no way inconsistent with the honor or dignity of that House to thank his Majesty in the most particular terms for every thing he had been pleased to communicate in his speech from the throne: that no expressions of approbation in the address could be any way made use of to prevent an inquiry into the measures which had been pursued, when the treaties should be laid before the House. He said, at the opening of a session the eyes of all Europe were turned towards Great-Britain, and from the parliament's first resolves all the neighbouring powers judged of the unanimity that would ensue between his Majesty and the representatives of his people: that their appearing jealous or diffident of his Majesty's conduct would weaken his influence upon the councils of foreign states and potentates, and perhaps put it out of his power to rectify any false step that might have been made by his ministers. His arguments were re-enforced by a long speech from Mr. H. Walpole. The question was put, the motion carried, and the address presented.

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§ XXXI. The next subject of debate was the number of land-forces. When the supply fell under consideration, Sir W. Strickland, secretary at war, moved that the same number which had been maintained in the preceding year should be continued in pay. On the other hand, Lord Morpeth having demonstrated the danger to which the liberties of the nation might be exposed, by maintaining a numerous standing army in time of peace, made a motion that the number should be reduced to twelve thousand. A warm dispute ensuing, was managed in favor of the first motion by Lord Hervey, Sir Robert Walpole and his brother, Mr. Pelham, and Sir Philip Yorke, attorney-general.¹ This gentleman was counted a better lawyer than a politician, and shone more as an advocate at the bar than as an orator in the House of Commons. The last partisan of the ministry was Sir William Yonge, one of the lords commissioners of the Treasury; a man who rendered himself serviceable and necessary, by stooping to all compliances, running upon every scent, and haranguing on every subject with an even, uninterrupted, tedious flow of dull declamation, composed of assertions without veracity, conclusions from false premises, words without meaning, and language without propriety. Lord Morpeth's motion was espoused by Mr. Watkin Williams Wynne, a gentleman of an ancient family and opulent fortune in Wales; brave, open, hospitable, and warmly attached to the ancient constitution and hierarchy: he was supported by Mr. Walter Plumer, who spoke with weight, precision,

and severity, by Sir W. Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, Mr. W. Pulteney, and Mr. Barnard. The courtiers argued that it was necessary to maintain such a number of land-forces as might defeat the designs of malecontents, secure the interior tranquillity of the kingdom, defend it from external assaults, over-awe its neighbours, and enable it to take vigorous measures in case the peace of Europe should be re-embroiled. They affirmed the science of war was so much altered, and required such attention, that no dependence was to be placed upon a militia: that all nations were obliged to maintain standing armies, for their security against the encroachments of neighbouring powers: that the number of troops in Great-Britain was too inconsiderable to excite the jealousy of the people, even under an ambitious monarch: that his Majesty never entertained the least thought of infringing the liberties of his subjects: that it could not be supposed that the officers, among whom were many gentlemen of family and fortune, would ever concur in a design to enslave their country; and that the forces now in pay could not be properly deemed a standing army, inasmuch as they were voted and maintained from year to year by the parliament, which was the representative of the people. To these arguments the members in the opposition replied, that a standing force in time of peace was unconstitutional, and had been always thought dangerous: that a militia was as capable of discipline as a standing army, and would have more incentives to courage and perseverance: that

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the civil magistrate was able to preserve the peace of the country : that the number of the malecontents was altogether contemptible, though it might be considerably augmented by maintaining a standing army, and other such arbitrary measures: that other nations had been enslaved by standing armies; and howsoever they might find themselves necessitated to depend upon a military force for security against encroaching neighbours, the case was very different with regard to Great-Britain, for the defence of which nature had provided in a peculiar manner: that this provision was strengthened and improved by a numerous navy, which secured her the dominion of the sea; and, if properly disposed, would render all invasion impracticable, or at least ineffectual: that the land-army of Great-Britain, though sufficient to endanger the liberties of an unarmed people, could not possibly secure such an extent of coast, and therefore could be of very little service in preventing an invasion: that though they had all imaginable confidence in his Majesty's regard for the liberty of his subjects, they could not help apprehending, that should a standing army become part of the constitution, another prince of more dangerous talents, and more fatal designs, might arise, and employ it for the worst purposes of ambition: that though many officers were gentlemen of honor and probity, these might be easily discarded, and the army gradually moulded into a quite different temper. By these means, practised in former times, an army had been new-modelled to such a

degree, that they turned their swords against the parliament, for whose defence they had been raised, and destroyed the constitution both in church and state : that with respect to its being wholly dependent on the parliament, the people of England would have reason to complain of the same hardship, whether a standing army should be declared at once indispensable, or regularly voted from year to year, according to the direction of the ministry : that the sanction of the legislature granted to measures which in themselves are unconstitutional, burdensome, odious, and repugnant to the genius of the nation, instead of yielding consolation, would serve only to demonstrate, that the most effectual method of forging the chains of national slavery would be that of ministerial influence operating upon a venal parliament. Such were the reasons urged against a standing army, of what number soever it might be composed : but the expediency of reducing the number from about eighteen thousand to twelve thousand was insisted upon as the natural consequence of his Majesty's declaration, by which they were given to understand that the peace of Europe was established ; and that he had nothing so much at heart as the ease and prosperity of his people. It was suggested, that if eighteen thousand men were sufficient on the supposed eve of a general war in Europe, it was surely reasonable to think that a less number would suffice when peace was perfectly re-established. Whatever effect these reasons had upon the body of the nation, they made no converts in the House, where the

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majority resolved that the standing army should be maintained without reduction. Mr. Plumer complained that the country was oppressed by an arbitrary method of quartering soldiers, in an undue proportion, upon those publicans who refused to vote in elections according to the direction of the ministry. Mr. Pulteney asserted that the money raised for the subsistence of eighteen thousand men in England would maintain sixty thousand French or Germans, or the same number of almost any other people on the continent. Sir William Wyndham declared that eighteen thousand of the English troops in the late war were maintained on less than two-thirds of the sum now demanded for the like number: but no regard was paid to these allegations.

§ XXXII. The next object of importance that attracted the notice of the House was the state of the charitable corporation. This company was first erected in the year one thousand seven hundred and seven. Their professed intention was to lend money at legal interest to the poor, upon small pledges; and to persons of better rank upon an indubitable security of goods impawned. Their capital was at first limited to thirty thousand pounds; but, by licences from the crown, they increased it to six hundred thousand pounds, though their charter was never confirmed by act of parliament. In the month of October, George Robinson, Esquire, member for Marlow, the cashier, and John Thompson, warehouse-keeper of the corporation, disappeared in one day. The

proprietors, alarmed at this incident, held several general courts, and appointed a committee to inspect the state of their affairs. They reported, that for a capital of above five hundred thousand pounds no equivalent was found; inasmuch as their effects did not amount to the value of thirty thousand, the remainder having been embezzled by means which they could not discover. The proprietors, in a petition to the House of Commons, represented that by the most notorious breach of trust in several persons to whom the care and management of their affairs were committed, the corporation had been defrauded of the greatest part of their capital; and that many of the petitioners were reduced to the utmost degree of misery and distress: they, therefore, prayed, that as they were unable to detect the combinations of those who had ruined them, or to bring the delinquents to justice, without the aid of the power and authority of parliament, the House would vouchsafe to inquire into the state of the corporation, and the conduct of their managers; and give such relief to the petitioners as to the House should seem meet. The petition was graciously received, and a secret committee appointed to proceed on the inquiry. They soon discovered a most iniquitous scene of fraud, which had been acted by Robinson and Thompson, in concert with some of the directors, for embezzling the capital, and cheating the proprietors. Many persons of rank and quality were concerned in this infamous conspiracy: some of the first characters in the nation did not escape suspicion and censure. Sir

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Robert Sutton and Sir Archibald Grant were expelled the House of Commons, as having had a considerable share in those fraudulent practices: a bill was brought in, to restrain them and other delinquents from leaving the kingdom, or alienating their effects. In the mean time, the committee received a letter from Signor John Angelo Belloni, an eminent banker at Rome, giving them to understand, that Thompson was secured in that city, with all his papers, and confined to the castle of St. Angelo; and that the papers were transmitted to his correspondent at Paris, who would deliver them up, on certain conditions stipulated in favor of the prisoner. This letter was considered as an artifice to insinuate a favorable opinion of the Pretender, as if he had taken measures for securing Thompson, from his zeal for justice, and affection to the English people. On this supposition, the proposals were rejected with disdain; and both Houses concurred in an order that the letter should be burned at the Royal Exchange, by the hands of the common hangman. The Lower House resolved that it was an insolent and audacious libel, absurd and contradictory; that the whole transaction was a scandalous artifice, calculated to delude the unhappy, and to disguise and conceal the wicked practices of the professed enemies to his Majesty's person, crown, and dignity.

§ XXXIII. No motion, during this session, produced such a warm contest as did that of Sir Robert Walpole, when, after a long preamble, he proposed that the duties on salt, which about two

years before had been abolished, should now be revived, and granted to his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, for the term of three years. In order to sweeten this proposal, he declared that the land-tax for the ensuing year should be reduced to one shilling in the pound. All the members of the country-party were immediately in commotion. They expressed their surprise at the grossness of the imposition. They observed that two years had scarce elapsed since the King, in a speech from the throne, had exhorted them to abolish some of the taxes that were the most burdensome to the poor: the House was then of opinion, that the tax upon salt was the most burdensome, and the most pernicious to the trade of the kingdom, of all the impositions to which the poor were subjected, and therefore it was taken off: but that no good reason could be produced for altering their opinion so suddenly, and resolving to grind the faces of the poor, in order to ease a few rich men of the landed interest. They affirmed that the most general taxes are not always the least burdensome: that after a nation is obliged to extend their taxes farther than the luxuries of their country, those taxes that can be raised with the least charge to the public are the most convenient and easiest to the people: but they ought carefully to avoid taxing those things which are necessary for the subsistence of the poor. The price of all necessaries being thus enhanced, the wages of the tradesman and manufacturer must be increased; and where these are high the manufactures will be underfold by those of cheaper

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countries. The trade must of consequence be ruined; and it is not to be supposed that the landed gentleman would chuse to save a shilling in the pound from the land-tax, by means of an expedient that would ruin the manufactures of his country, and decrease the value of his own fortune. They alledged that the salt-tax particularly affected the poor, who could not afford to eat fresh provisions; and that, as it formerly occasioned murmurs and discontents among the lower class of people, the revival of it would, in all probability, exasperate them into open sedition. They observed, that while it was exacted in England, a great number of merchants sent their ships to Ireland, to be victualled for their respective voyages: that, since it had been abolished, many experiments had been successfully tried with salt for the improvement of agriculture, which would be entirely defeated by the revival of this imposition. They suggested that the land-tax was raised at a very small expense, and subject to no fraud, whereas that upon salt would employ a great number of additional officers in the revenue, wholly depending upon the ministry, whose influence in elections they would proportionably increase. They even hinted, that this consideration was one powerful motive for proposing the revival of an odious tax, which was in effect an excise, and would be deemed a step towards a general excise upon all sorts of provisions. Finally, they demonstrated that the salt-tax introduced numberless frauds and

perjuries in different articles of traffic. Sir Robert Walpole endeavoured to obviate all these objections in a long speech, which was minutely answered and refuted in every article by Mr. Pulteney. Nevertheless, the question being put, the minister's motion was carried in the affirmative, and the duty revived: yet, before the bill passed, divers motions were made, and additional clauses proposed by the members in the opposition. New debates were raised on every new objection, and the courtiers were obliged to dispute their ground by inches.

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§ XXXIV. The pension-bill was revived, and for the third time rejected in the House of Lords. A bill for the encouragement of the sugar-colonies passed through the Lower House with great difficulty, but was lost among the Peers: another, for the better securing the freedom of parliaments, by further qualifying members to sit in the House of Commons, was read the third time, and thrown out upon the question. A committee had been appointed to inquire into a sale of the estate which had belonged to the late Earl of Derwentwater. It appeared by the report, that the sale had been fraudulent: a bill was prepared to make it void: Dennis Bond, Esquire, and Serjeant Birch, commissioners for the sale of the forfeited estates, were declared guilty of notorious breach of trust, and expelled the House, of which they were members: George Robinson, Esquire, underwent the same sentence, on account of the part he acted in the charitable corporation, as he and Thompson had

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neglected to surrender themselves, according to the terms of a bill which had passed for that purpose. During this session, five members of parliament were expelled for the most fordid acts of knavery: a sure sign of national degeneracy and dishonor. All the supplies were granted, and, among other articles, the sum of two-and-twenty thousand six hundred ninety-four pounds, seven shillings, and sixpence, for the agio or difference of the subsidies payable to the crown of Denmark, in pursuance of the treaty subsisting between the late king and that monarch: but this was not obtained without a violent dispute. Mr. Pulteney, who bore a considerable share in all these debates, became in a little time so remarkable as to be thought worthy of a very particular mark of his Majesty's displeasure. The King, on the first day of July, called for the council-book, and with his own hand struck the name of William Pulteney, Esquire, out of the list of privy-counsellors: his Majesty further ordered him to be put out of all the commissions of the peace. The several lord-lieutenants from whom he had received deputations were commanded to revoke them; and the Lord-Chancellor and Secretaries of State were directed to give the necessary orders for that purpose.

§ XXXV. Nor did the House of Peers tamely and unanimously submit to the measures of the ministry. The pension-bill being read, was again rejected, and a protest entered. A debate arose about the number of standing forces; and the Earl of Chesterfield argued for the court-motion. The

Earl of Oxford moved, that they might be reduced to twelve thousand effective men. The Earl of Winchelsea observed, that a standing army rendered ministers of state more daring than otherwise they would be, in contriving and executing projects that were grievous to the people: schemes that never could enter into the heads of any but those who were drunk with excess of power. The Marquis of Tweeddale, in reasoning against such a number as the ministry proposed, took occasion to observe, that not one shilling of the forfeited estates was ever applied to the use of the public: he likewise took notice, that the eighteen thousand men, demanded as a standing force, were modelled in such a manner, that they might be speedily augmented to forty thousand men on any emergency. The Duke of Argyle endeavoured to demonstrate the danger of depending for the safety of the kingdom upon an undisciplined militia, a fleet, or an army of auxiliaries. Then he represented the necessity of having recourse to a regular army in case of invasion; and after all acknowledged, that the number proposed was no way sufficient for that purpose. All his arguments were answered and refuted in an excellent speech by Lord Carteret: nevertheless, victory declared for the minister. The parliament having granted every branch of the supply, towards the payment of which they borrowed a sum from the sinking fund, and passed divers other acts for the encouragement of commerce and agriculture, the King, on the first day of June, gave the royal assent to the

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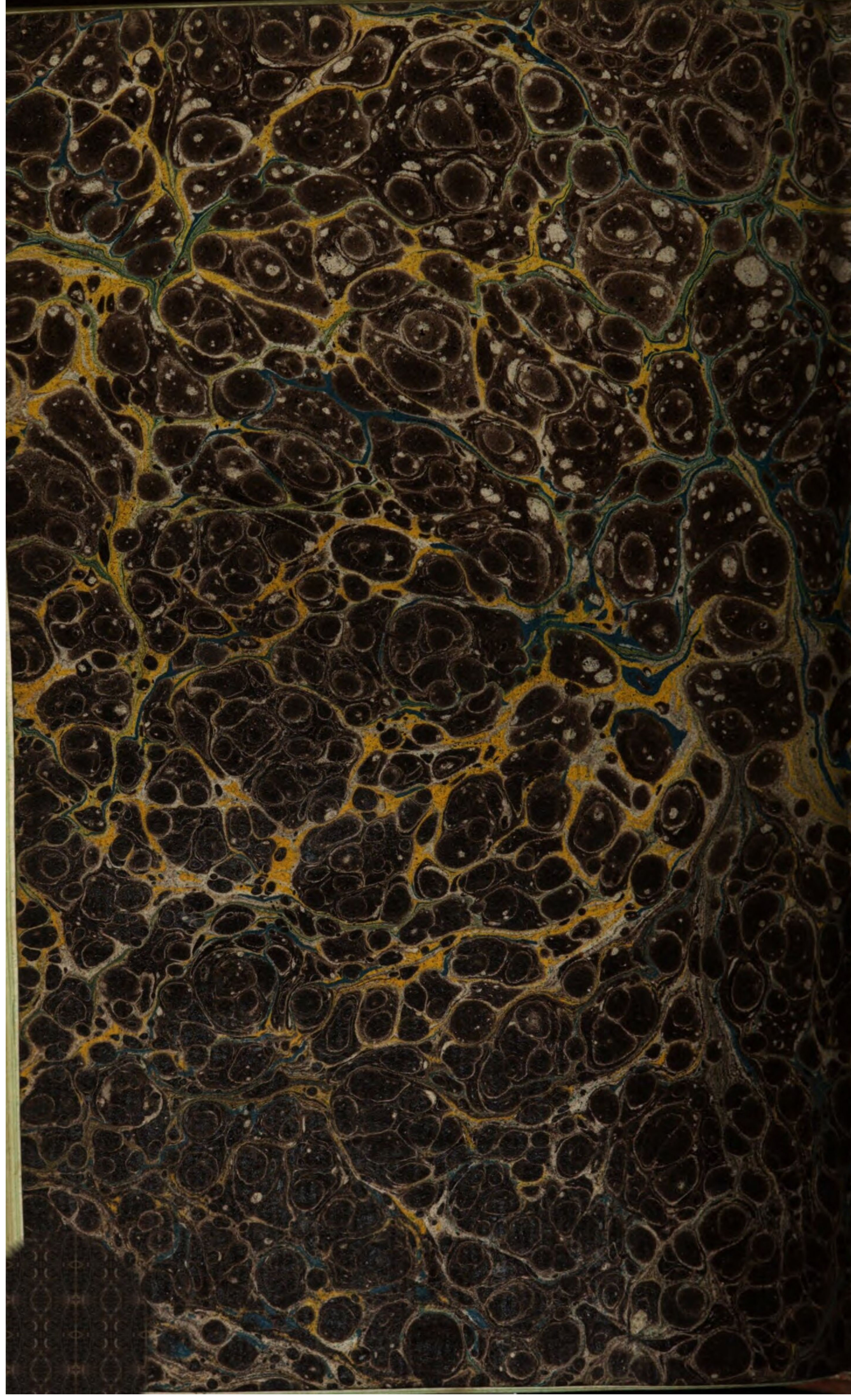
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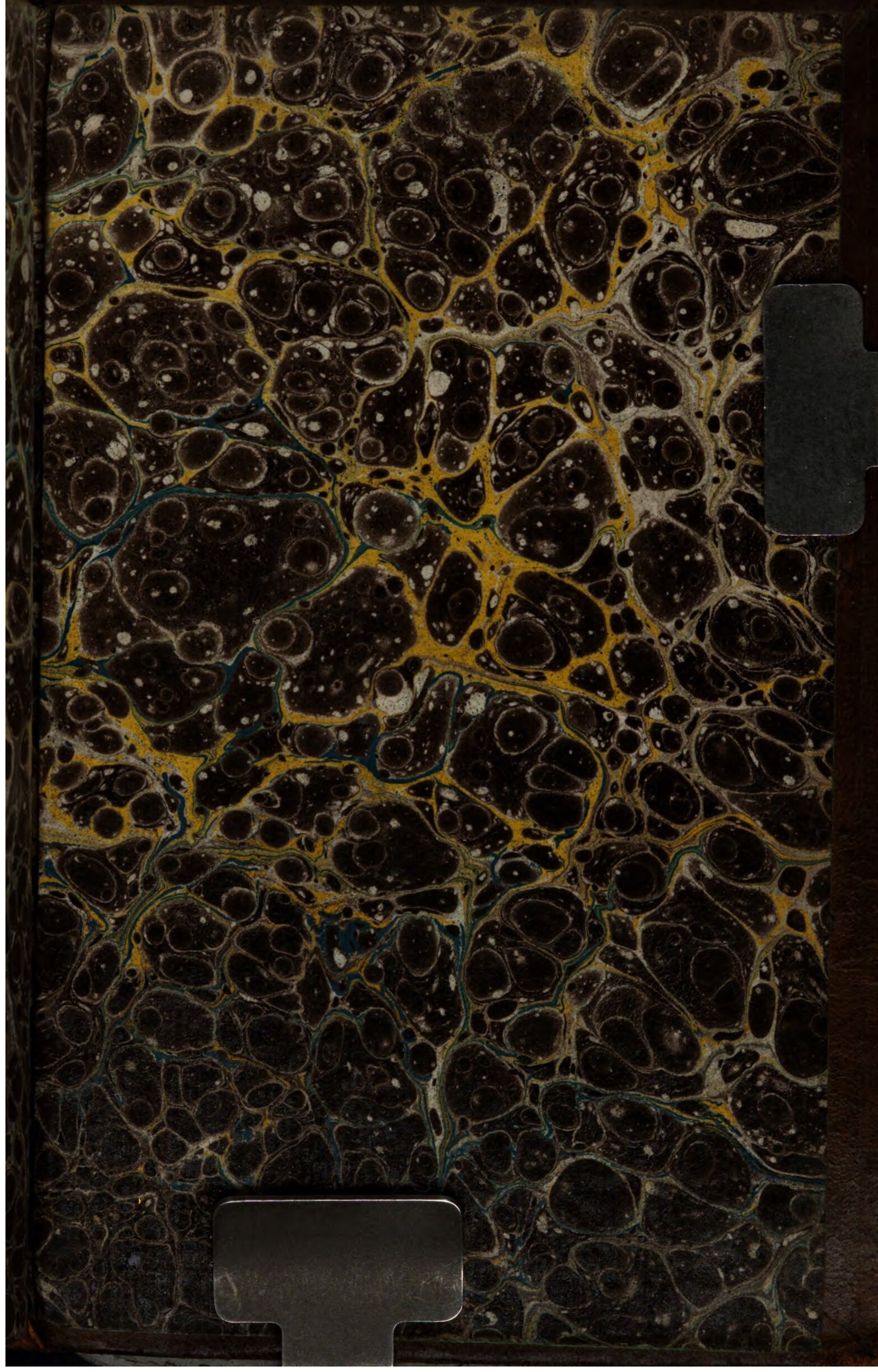
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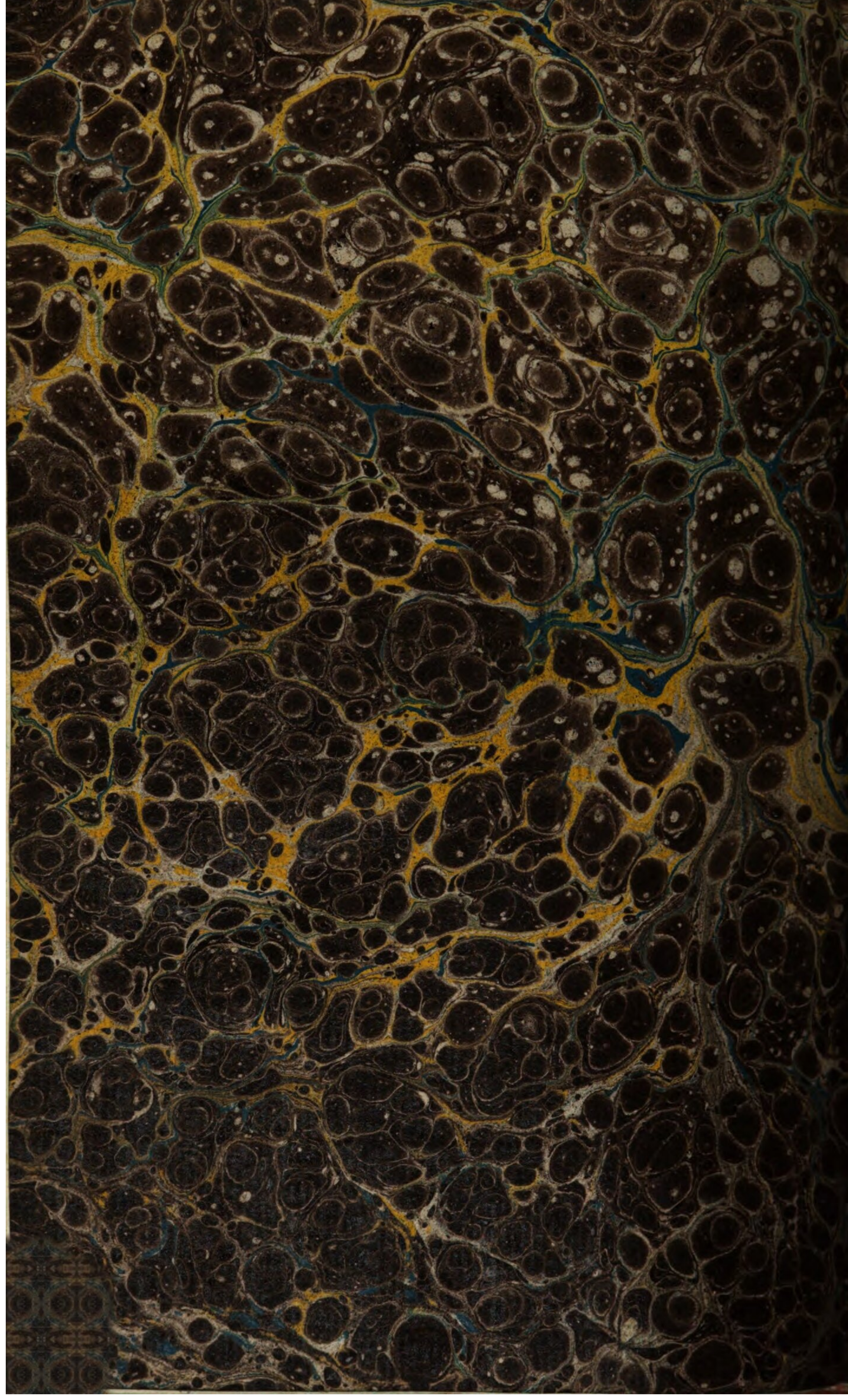
bills that were prepared, and closed the session, after having informed both Houses that the States-General had acceded to the treaty of Vienna: that he had determined to visit his German dominions, and to leave the Queen regent in his absence. He accordingly set out for Hanover in the beginning of June. By this time the pragmatic sanction was confirmed by the diet of the empire, though not without a formal protest by the Electors Palatine, Bavaria, and Saxony.

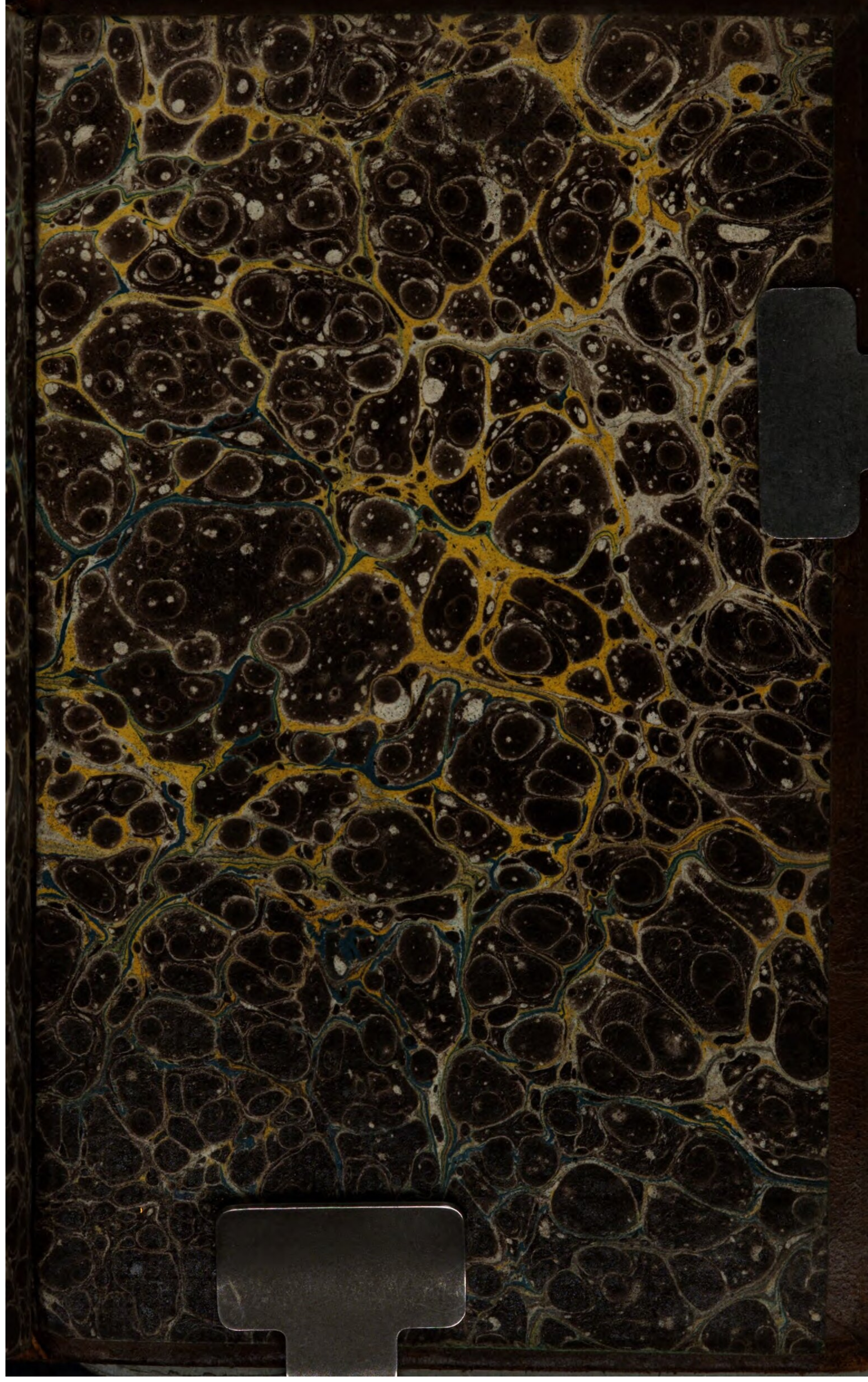
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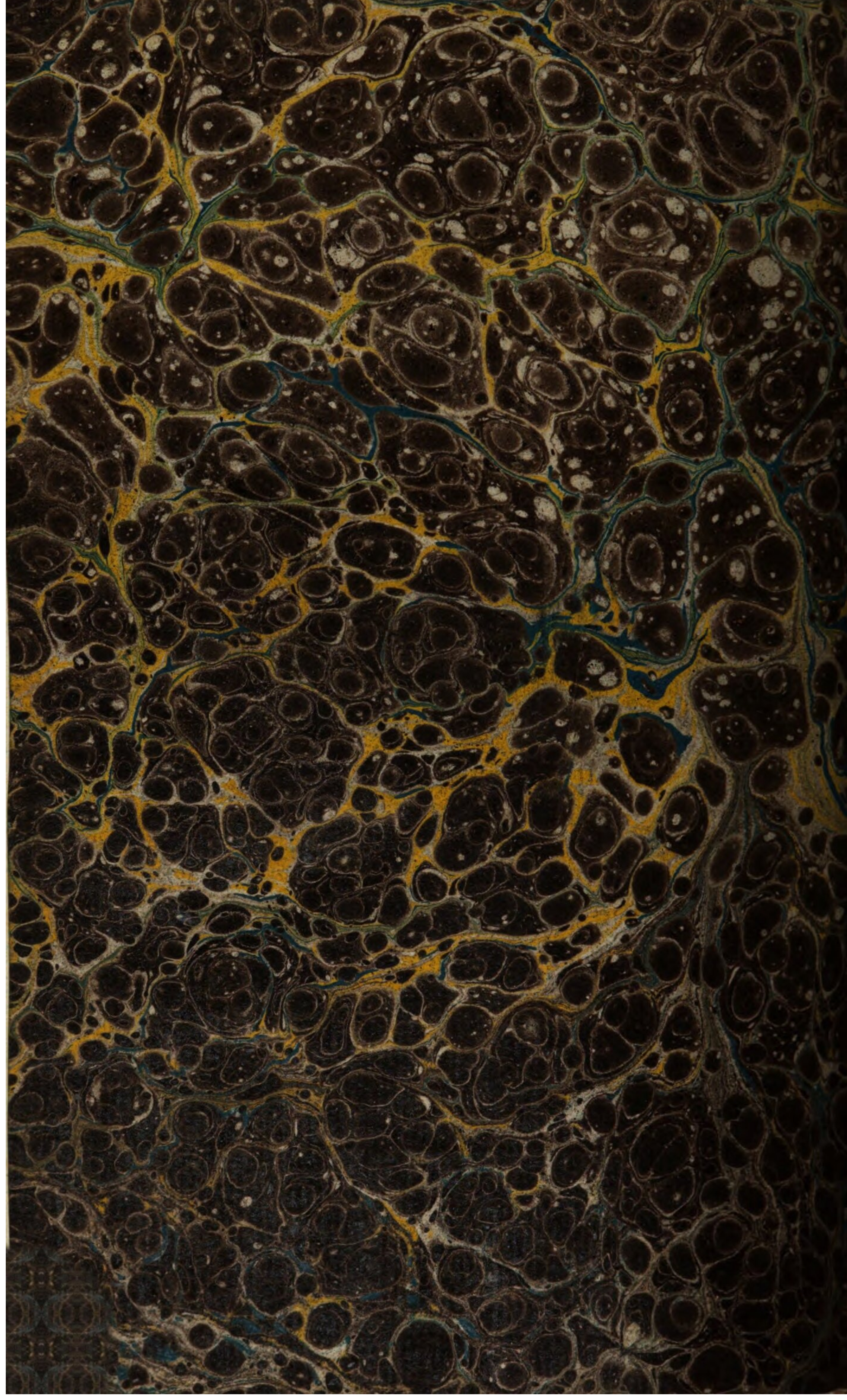
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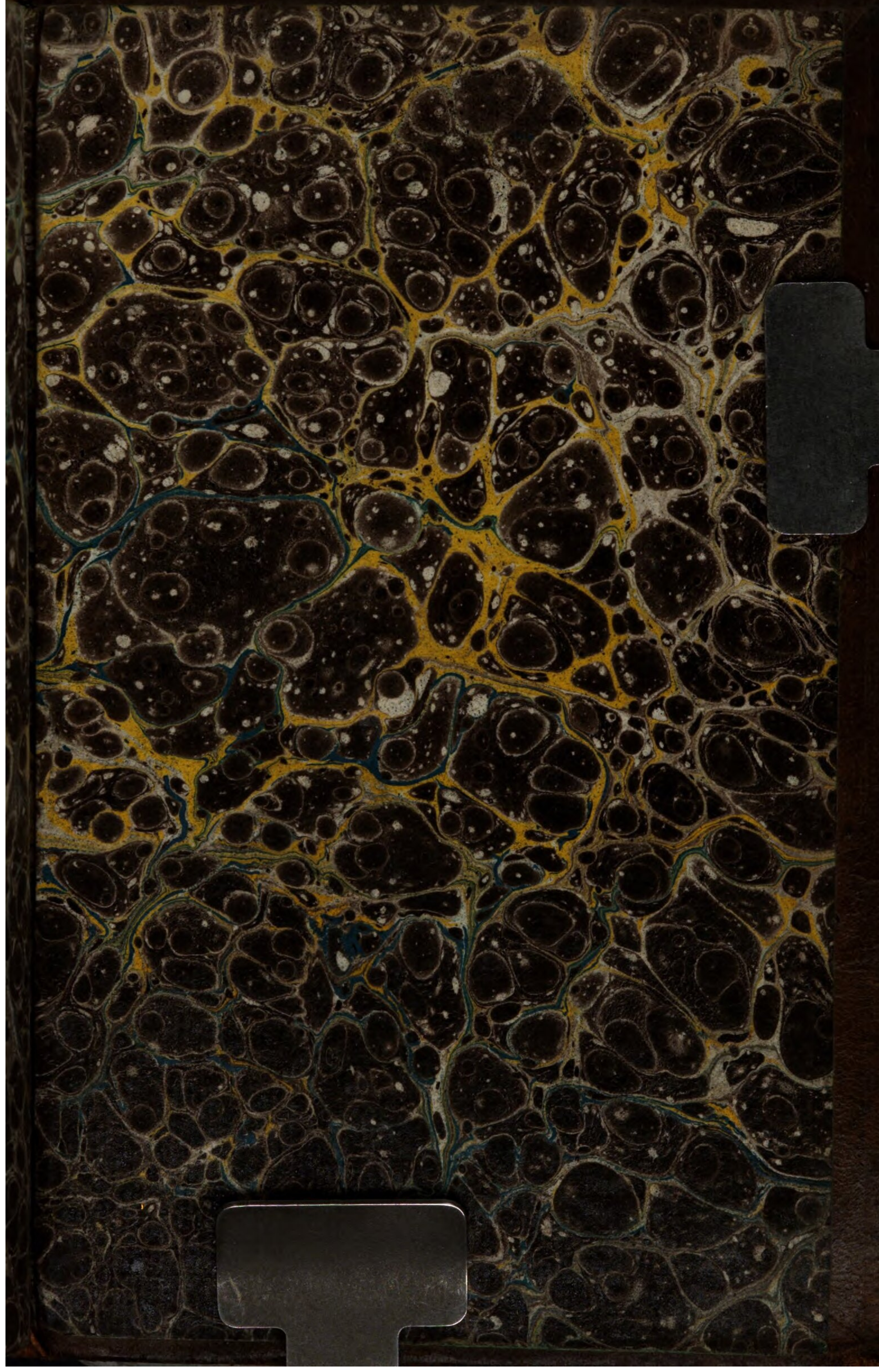












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